



A  
HISTORY OF  
PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE  
AT THE MUGHAL COURT

WITH A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE GROWTH  
OF URDU LANGUAGE

[BĀBUR TO AKBAR]

PART II — HUMĀYŪN

BY

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چوں همایوں بی‌خبری افتاده است

حقا که چون همایون در حال وصل بینود  
بادوسه در کایه از خویش رفته بودم

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HUMĀYŪN SEATED ON HIS THRONE AT ĀGRA

[From an album of highly finished portraits of the Mughal emperors of Hindūstān ]

# A HISTORY OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT

## PART II—HUMĀYŪN

### CHAPTER I

After Babur's death which took place at Āgra, his eldest son Humāyūn ascended the throne in 937 A. H. The court poets composed congratulatory poems of which the following chronogram was cleverly devised, mourning in one and the same breath for Babur's death and exulting at Humāyūn's accession to the throne.

Humāyūn's  
accession to the  
throne.

Congratulatory  
poem.

۱۔ خسرواں سہ بابر کہ داشت  
 دو صد بلند ملک ۲۔ د و ع  
 ۳۔ د ہمایوں بختیاریں ۴۔ ر  
 جو طومار صمصام اجل کردہ طے  
 جو ہر ۱۔ د تاریخ اے دل بگو  
 ہمایوں ہوں وارث ملک وے

<sup>1</sup> Mirza Aliud daula Qasrawi, *Naf'is ul Ma'lafr* (abridged)  
B.M. MSS., Or 1761 fol. 27a.

The king of kings Shāh Bābur who had,  
 Two hundred slaves like Jamshid and  
     " Kai-khusrau ";  
 Muhammad Humāyūn sat in his place,  
 When the roll of the latter's life was cut  
     short by death ;  
 If they ask the date, O heart, say,  
 " Humāyūn is the heir to his kingdom."

The practice of composing chronograms on memorable occasions was rapidly gaining popularity among the writers of the Indian courts. Even poets who had migrated from Persia, Turkistān, and Trans-Caspian Provinces, were taking a fancy for same and introducing subtleties in their compositions with artful devices in the use of words and their meanings.

Another chronogram that was composed and presented to him was the following :

محمد شاه بابر شاهي  
 كه خيرالاولك است اندر ملوك  
 چو بر سر نهاده شاهي  
 شمس سال تاريخ خيرالاولك

Muhammad Humāyūn, the fortunate King,  
 Who is the best of kings in their line ;  
 When on the throne of Empire he sat,

The year of his accession was *Khair-ul mulūk* (the best of kings)

Again when Humāyūn defeated Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī in a pitched battle at Mandsūr near Mālwa the following *qit'a* was composed to commemorate the date of this victory

ہمایوں شاہ عازی آنکہ اوراست  
 ہزاران بندہ حوں ~ دل در خور  
 مغروری حو آمد سوئے گھرات  
 ہزار ۴ ت فخر ال تیمور  
 بہادر حوں دل دل و خوار گردید (تیمور ۱۲)  
 شدہ تاریخم آن دل بہادر

Humāyūn is king Ghāzī and more  
 Thousands of slaves like Jamshīd him serve  
 In victory when he came to Gujarāt,  
 Triumphed the pride of Timūr's race,  
 Bahādur when fell so low and in disgrace,  
 The date was found in *zill* : Bahādur  
 (Bahādur's disgrace).

Similarly when the fort of Champānēr was subdued by Humāyūn's forces the following verse was composed by the court poets in attendance

نارنج ظفر یافتن شاہ ہمایوں  
 می ~ در سیاحت نہ شہر مغربوں

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 346.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 347



The date of Humāyūn's gaining victory,  
 Wisdom sought and found in ' *nuh i Shahr i*  
*Safar hūd* ' (it was the 9th of Safar)

This chronogram is most ingeniously devised since its very words tell the date and the month, while the year is to be found in the numerical value of its letters. Such niceties in the art of composition date from the reign of Humāyūn, and were developed in the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngir, Shāhjahān, and Aurangzēb.

He was born at Cābul of Bābur's first wife, Māham Bēgum, in 913 A. H., which is synchronous with Bābur's adoption of the title of Pādishāh. The date of his birth was found by many poets in their metrical compositions, of which the following is from the pen of Bābur's trusted noble Khwāja Kalān.

سال مولود ما یوں تراست

را دك الله به الى قدرا

مردہ ام دك اہ ارناریخ ش

قا کشم میل دو چشم بدرا

It is the year of the birth of Humāyūn Shāh,  
 May God increase thy rank and dignity,  
 I have carried off one ' *alif* ' from his  
 chronogram,<sup>1</sup>  
 So that I may apply with it collyrium to the  
 two eyes of the evil.

<sup>1</sup> Naqsh 'Alī, Tazkira i Bāgh i Ma'ānī (abridged and bound with Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir), B M MSS Or 1761, fol. 151b

<sup>2</sup> This means that the chronogram is short by 1

Short phrases also as was customary with poets on such occasions were ingeniously constructed giving the date of his birth to indicate his future greatness and kingly career. Some of these are as follows

سلطان حمایون خان	[Sultān Humāyūn Khān]
شاه فیروز قدر	[Shāh Firūz Qadr]
پادشاه صف شیکان	[Padishāh Saf Shikan]
خوش باد	[Khush Bād]

In his early youth he was trained under the fostering care of his father's learned secretaries Khwāja Kalān and Shaikh Zainuddin. His father also paid personal attention to his education and used to correct in his letters mistakes of spelling and diction every now and then.

While quite young he developed a taste for Mathematics and Astronomy in the association of Shaikh Abul Qāsim Astrābādī, Mullā Nuruddin and the celebrated astronomer Maulānā Ilyās. He seemed to have little liking for Turki and employed it on few occasions only. The rapidly dwindling influence of Turki at his court is clearly noticeable. While Bābur had tried all his life to raise the status of Turki Humāyūn in inverse ratio neglected it from deference to the feelings of the Persians at his court, as well as his own liking for Persian.

1 M. n. d. of Bābur Vol. II, p. 624.

B. Yazid, Tarikh-i Humāyūn, IO MSS No 223 fol 24b.

2 Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p. 223.

B. d. n. 1, Vol. III, p. 131.

The only instances of his Turki composition that could be discovered are the following

(i) A few letters that he wrote to his father

(ii) Occasional verses that he composed of which, however, no trace could be found, except of one which is preserved in his name as follows

’من که دلم اید کالی دین کو د، نام اید، یاه  
اوت سالی، تور حاده، رحه اید کالیک دله

The occasions on which he appreciated Turki verses were also few.

“After my presentation I offered the Emperor a small gift and a chronogram upon the conquest of India – also two *ghazals*, all of which pleased the Pādīshāh greatly ”<sup>1</sup>

“About the same time Āgra fell into the hands of the Pādīshāh I immediately wrote a chronogram for the occasion which found much favour. The incident furnished the material for a ‘*ghazal*’ with which the sovereign was so delighted that he called me a second Mir ‘Alī Shīr ”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nafā’is ul Ma’āsir, B M MSS, Or 1761, fol 40a

<sup>2</sup> A Vamberry, Travels and Adventures of Sīdī ‘Alī Re’īs, p 47, London, 1899

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp 49-50

Even in his private conversations he used Turki rarely. On two occasions he spoke it merely with the object that his other courtiers might not understand him. One such occasion was at the blinding of Kāmran. When Ali Dost, a trusted servant of Humāyūn came to give him certain news about it with a view to take his further instructions in the matter Humāyūn was surrounded by people and this was apparently why the servant chose to communicate the object of his visit in Turki, saying

نہوای کسی کی ۱۲۱ ۱۲۱

Nobody does this work

whereupon Humāyūn abusing him said

ایہی قلتای سن خانہ بولب تیر سن ۱۲۱

What is wrong with thee do it thyself

The other occasion was when on account of the scarcity of water and the monopoly of the available well by Tardi Bæg the entire menial staff had conspired against him and made their complaint to Humāyūn. Humāyūn thereupon rode up to Tardi Bæg and spoke to him in Turki merely to avoid his being understood

1 1 other Tazkirat ul waq'at, B. M. MSS. Add. 16,711 fol. 123b.

Ibid.

by others, thereby to keep the prestige of the Khān in the eyes of those present intact

چون آب نداشتند، می‌روند به آنکه زراگون بیست  
 حضرت پادشاه آمده عرض نمودند که بر دی دیگ ما بران  
 و تیران خون آب داد..... پادشاه او را مانع نمود، الا ماه  
 دیگ خواهم کرد عاید کشه خواهم شد یا آب میگیریم  
 چون حضرت دانستند که قدامت خواهد شد و وارثند  
 مدول و بر سر چاه آمدند و بران تر کی گه تن غلامان  
 خیال خوب ندارند مردم خون را یک ساعه ار آب گرفتن  
 مانع شد -

Since water was not being had in sufficient quantity the menial staff of His Majesty coming before him gave vent that Tardī Bēg supplied water to his own horses and camels . . . , the King should stop him, otherwise we would fight with him. At the most we might be killed or get water. When His Majesty knew that it would lead to evil, he mounted his horse and rode up to the top of the well, and said in Turkī language, "the servants are discontented. Stop your men drawing water for an hour."

A similar instance occurred when a servant wished to say that a certain Mughal captive had used unworthy language in respect of Humāyūn's person, and should on that account be beheaded :

<sup>1</sup> Ibid , fol. 51b

اند مثل بدست میرزا قلی حلی حلی افتاد که بر روی او  
 زخم - محکم بود گریه نادر که حضرت پادشاه آورد زبان  
 ترکی عرض کرد که این <sup>۱</sup> من انکس اسد که حضرت  
 پادشاه ناسزا گفت بود فرمودند که بکفرای خود ر نه  
 است -

A Mughal on whose face there was a deep wound fell into the hands of Mirza Quli Chūli. Having arrested him he brought him to the court of His Majesty and said in Turki language that the captive was that person who used unworthy language in respect of the Pādishāh. His Majesty replied that the wretch had received his reward.

One instance of his voluntarily employing Turki while speaking to a Turk is as follows:

در <sup>۱</sup> من رومی در بازار بودند که به حضرت پادشاه  
 سلام کردند حضرت فرمودند که من <sup>۲</sup> من دعا ده یعنی از ما  
 پادشاه روم دعا ده ایسان <sup>۳</sup> که کوز او جم یعنی  
 ۴۲ -

Two persons of Rūm were in the market. They saluted His Majesty. His Majesty replied *min dan du ā dih i e* from me to the king of Rūm convey greetings. They rejoined *kūz ou cham i e* heartily or with great pleasure.

<sup>۱</sup> Ibid., fol. 56a.

Ibid. fol. 57a.

## CHAPTER II

While for Turki he seems to have had an aversion, for Persian he had a special liking. He encouraged it at his court and himself employed it on all public and private occasions. His taste for Persian poetry He also compiled a 'diwān' using *Humāyūn* as his pen-name. His best poetry is to be found in his 'ghazal.'

'Ghazal' Some specimens are as follows:

غزل  
 کار من نامهربان افتاده است  
 در درونم آتش افتاده است  
 خانه ام روشن از آرزوی دید  
 پر تو از مهربانی افتاده است  
 دل مرا ای جان بهر دمی که  
 تا دلم با دلکشی افتاده است  
 کام دل فراموش گزین این زمان  
 چون دل به تم بر تو افتاده است  
 عقل و دانش از من محروم ای جان  
 چون به دلون میبش افتاده است

<sup>1</sup> Abul Fazl testifies to its presence in the royal library : Cf.

و دیوان آ. حضرت فریدالدین عالی موحید ا  
 (and His Majesty's *diwān* exists in the royal library) [Akbar Nāma, Vol I, p 368]

<sup>2</sup> Nafā'is ul Ma'asir, B.M MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 39a.

With a beautiful maid my lot has fallen  
 Within my heart a fire has fallen  
 My house is lit with the face of the loved  
 From the beautiful moon (beloved) a ray has  
 fallen  
 In every way my heart O life draws me  
 Since my heart to a ravisher of heart has  
 fallen  
 The object of my heart I'll seize now  
 While to my hand dizzy delight has fallen  
 Sense and wit in me seek not beloved  
 While Hamayūn in ecstasy has fallen

گداز دل سو گسسته ناول :- س  
 رسید بر من دل لعل لذت الم  
 رفت کستن عسائی اگر کند ممل  
 محراب نباد از اخلاص و سیرت کرم  
 کرا است زهره قرب حرم عزت او  
 که حریفان امس و مکررم حرم  
 مرا به محبت او در دلی می ناسد  
 ز سانی دو جهان بهتر است درد و غم  
 اگر زار ن عسائی می نهی قدم  
 هزار جان گرامی ندای هر قدم

The arrow of his tyranny pierced my  
 bewildered heart,  
 My wounded heart has tasted the sweetness  
 of the pang of his love





The praise of thy ruby is on my tongue  
 A fire is within my soul  
 Whoever might happen to be in the assembly  
 of the abandonnes  
 Is beside himself by my cry and lament  
 Whatever they say in the praise of his  
 beauty  
 All is contained in my expression and  
 comment.

خوش آنکه با خجالت عمری ۱ ۲ بودم  
 و از سوز سر و لذت از پای ۳ ۴ بودم  
 عین ممکن که گفتم زلف ترا برپسلی  
 در سرح جعد زلف حوس دل ۵ ۶ بودم  
 وی سوزی من که دهدی بر سیده چه حالست  
 از جسم تا فناکت بسیار ۷ ۸ بودم  
 در سرم ۹ ۱۰ او هرگز نگفت حرفی  
 لب را دران حکایت هموسته ۱۱ ۱۲ بودم  
 حقا که حوس عماءون در حال وصل ۱۳ ۱۴ بودم  
 با دوست در حکایت از خویش رفت ۱۵ ۱۶ بودم

Happy the recollection when the greater  
 part of my life I had sat in thy thought,  
 And in search of thy cypress like stature  
 my feet were sore



\* م ز جان بلند اولاد علی  
 شادمان یاد علی  
 چون سر ولایت از علی ظاهر شد  
 کردیم \* درون خود یاد علی

We are from our hearts slaves to the

regency of Ali

We are ever happy in the memory of Ali

Since the mystic secret is revealed

through Ali

We always recalled the memory of Ali.

\* یارب بکمال امان خواص گردان  
 وائف \* ایق خواص گردان  
 از مقلد حفا کار دل افکار - دم  
 دیوانه خود خواص و خلاص گردان

O God with Thy plentiful grace select me

for Thy nearness

Make me acquainted with the secrets of Thy

chosen people

\* Farishta, Vol. I, p. 446

NOTE.—The word *ای* in the last hemistich seems to be a misprint for *او* which is more appropriate and is in accordance with the rules of prosody as saving a needless repetition of the word *ای* which occurs twice in the quatrain. But as the first reading is found in some other works also besides Farishta, the same is retained here in the text.

\* Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p. 435 (Newal Kishore edition, 1234 A. H.).

Through my tyrannic wisdom my heart was  
rent,  
Call me Thy mad lover, and free me from all  
cares.

ای دل در حضور یار یزوری کن  
در خدمت او صدق دل وری کن  
هر تر به خیال دوست محرم یارین  
هر دور توصل یار یزوری کن

O heart, reap success from the presence of  
the beloved,  
Burn your heart in all sincerity in his service :  
Every night sit jubilant in the thought of  
thy friend,  
Every day celebrate a new year's day in  
union with him.

۱\* ر آدکه جهانی تو عالم نام دارد  
دوریکه ستم نه دینم از تو ستم آید  
هر دم که ر د از ستم چرخ ددل  
مارا جو دم عشق تو باشد چه دم دارد

O thou whose tyranny is well-known all  
the world over,  
The day on which I do not experience  
severity from thee is severe ,  
Whatever grief reaches the heart from the  
oppression of the sky,

1 Farishta, Vol. I, p 446

2 Akbar Nūma, Vol I, p 366

I care not for so long as I have the grief  
of thy love in me

اے انکے زیادہ تو دلم باسد ساد  
ہی یاد تو خاطر دمے ساد ساد  
روزیکہ ز یاد تو کنم صد فریاد  
آہ ز من غمزداد آید یاد

O thou from whose memory my heart  
gains joy  
Without thy memory my soul no joy can know  
The day that in thy memory a hundred  
cries I raise  
Come to thee of me the grief-stricken  
remembrance ?

Once in his appeal to Kāmran for peace he subscribed the following verses purporting that for every drop of blood spilt Kāmran would be answerable before God on the day of judgment

ہوں خوں آن قوم در گردنب  
ہوں دست آن جمع در دامان  
ہماں بہ کہ ہر صلم راے آوری  
طریق مروت بھالے آوری

1 Nafī's ul Ma'asir B. M. M. 1894, Or 1761, fol. 40a.  
Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p. 278

Of Kāmran a blunt reply to Humayūn a generous appeal  
میرس ملک کسی فر کنار گیرد تنگ کہ برے ہر لب غمخوار آید  
He alone holds fast the bride of kingdom  
Who k the lip of the sharp word.

[Far hā, Vol. I p. 251.]

The blood of that people hangs on thy neck,  
 The hand of that band is on thy skirt ;  
 Better is that thou decidest on peace,  
 And showeth the manner of kindness and  
 generosity.

An instance of his composing *masnawī* is to be found in one of his letters which he addressed to  
 'Masnawī' Bairām Khān on the occasion of the  
 conquest of Qandhār :

یارِ مہر ز روی یون کہ دل دوستاں ارو دکشون  
 کر الہ کہ یارِ شہادادیم سرِ رح یار و دوست حیات ایم  
 دستان را کام دل دیدیم میوۂ ناع فتح را جیدیم  
 روزِ نوروزِ دیرم اے امور دل احباب ہے ام امور  
 ان مہرِ شہادتۂ حاکم یار ہم مگردن مگردن یار و دیار  
 بابِ ہمیش آعاد اے دل دھار وصال اوقات اے  
 کہ جہاں ہمیں کے دیم گلِ رناع وصال کے چینم  
 گوشِ خرم شون ز گفتارت دیدہ روشن و دیدارت  
 درِ خیم ہر ان ہم درِ خیم ہم و ہے ہم  
 وعد ازاں کہ کارِ ہند کند عزم دہ خیر ملک مدد کنیم  
 ہر در دستہ کشادہ شون ہرجہ و واہم اراں روانہ شون  
 ادبہ و واہم اردہاں ورمیں گوید آمدن اسرائیل آمدن  
 یا الہی میسر مگردن آں نو جہاں را ہم مگردن گرداں

Again a victory showed its face from  
Invisibilty  
That the hearts of friends cheered to see it  
Thanks be to God that we are again happy  
And we smile on the faces of companions and  
friends  
We saw our enemies with the object of their  
heart achieved  
We plucked the fruit of the garden of victory  
To-day is the Bairām a New Year's day  
The heart of friends is without a grief to-day  
The heart of the dear one be ever happy  
Grief may not go near to his heart, nor to  
his native town  
All the requisite material for comfort is ready  
My heart is anxious for union with thee  
When would it be that I see the beauty of  
the loved one  
When would I pluck the flower of the garden  
of union with him  
When should my ear become happy in  
listening to thy speech  
And my eye lighted through seeing thy face  
In the sanctuary of thy presence happy  
together  
We sit cheerful and without a grief  
After this we turn our care to the affairs of  
India  
Resolved to subdue the kingdom of Sindh  
Every door that is shut will be opened  
Whate'er we wished more than that shall  
we gain





\* One day the emperor planned a little excursion on horse-back to visit the graves of the holy Sheikh of Lahore, and I accompanied him. We visited the graves of Shāh Qutbeddin the Pir of Delhi of Sheikh Nizām Well Sheikh Ferid Shekr-Ghendj Mir Khosru Dehlevi and Mir Husein Dehlevi. When the conversation turned upon the poetical works of Mir Khosru I quoted some of his best poems and under their influence I conceived a most telling distich. I turned to the emperor saying It would be presumption on my part to measure my powers against those of Mir Khosru but he has inspired me and I would fain recite my couplet before your Majesty. Let us hear it, said Humāyūn and I recited the following

‘هر که قانع شد ملک نان هزاره مرد بهترست  
 کز او از - اء ساعیان عالم بهترست

† Sidī Ahī Rā’is-Mirāt ul Mamālik p. 33, Iqbal Press, Sāmāl, 1313 A. H.

Cf Kī - اء ساعیان verses

کوسه عی و پتک نالای مرد مر است  
 هر که قانع شد ملک ک و مر عه بهر مرد است  
 مرد پنهان هر گیسو پنهان عالم است  
 تیغ خفته هر نیای پنهان کفر است

Truly great is he who became contented with  
his daily bread,  
Better is his affair than all the kings of the  
earth.

'By God,' cried the monarch, 'this is truly sublime.'<sup>1</sup> »

On one occasion Humāyūn quoted Nizāmī in a letter to Prince Akbar, reprimanding him for his playing truant :

عادل مردمیسی نه وقت بازی است  
وقت کار است و کار را بداند

Don't sit idly, 'Tis not the time for play,  
'Tis time for acquiring skill and doing work.

He had also inscribed in his own handwriting the following verse of Shaikh Āzarī on a niche of the arch of his palace :

شایده ام که درین طاقم در اندود است  
خاطر که عاقبت کار جزا به محمود است

I have heard that on this golden vault there is,  
An inscription which is the end of the work  
of all Mahmūds.

<sup>1</sup> A Vambery, Travels and Adventures of Sīdī 'Alī Re'īs, p 54

<sup>2</sup> Akbar Nūma, Vol. I, p 816

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p 863



HUMAYUN WITH HIS PET HAWK AND THE  
YOUNG PRINCE AKBAR

[Exhibit 1911 Exhibition Allahabad]



From his own verses which include almost all principal kinds of poetry except *qasida* and *gita*<sup>1</sup> his position as a poet of the Persian language is clearly established. In his *rubai* and *ghazal* while behind no one he stands ahead of many of his contemporaries. The chief feature of his style is the clearness of expression which pervades all his writings, and his words are always few simple and compact.

Estimate of  
his poetic taste  
(fewer than that  
of an average  
poet)

- <sup>1</sup> One instance of same as found in some Persian works like the *Alamdar*, p. 29 (edited by Dhand, London, 1841), and the *Majma'ul Fi* 13 p 62, was as follows. This he is said to have written to Shah Tahmasp after his arrival in Persia.

خبر را هر چه تا منگامه مانی هم  
تا که کلام را نفی کرده است  
روز کاری منگامه کلام نامه جو فروشی  
طوطی طبع مرا کلام به آرزو کرده است  
دعایم غیر است و صبی بخت برسی کرده بود  
حالتی که دوه بختی دوه برسی کرده است  
دارم التماس از شاه که تا با من کند  
است با منگامه مانی در وقت آرزو کرده است

It may be noted that the last line with but slight variation occurs in Bahman Fawzi's *gita* as follows:

که خدا آمد دارم شاه با ما می کند  
است با منگامه مانی در وقت آرزو کرده است

Also, he is said to have sent to the Shah a *rubai*, of which only one line could be traced as under:

فغانی همه ساله هم می خواهد بنگر که ما آمده در خانه تو

To this the Shah's reply was the following:

شاه ادب سعادت بدم ما است اگر ترا گفته در مقام ما است

Once during his flight to Persia, Mullā Hairatī,  
 a poet of Trans-Caspian Province,  
 presented him with a '*ghazal*' of which  
 the opening lines ran thus

His poetic in-  
 sight corrects  
 Hairatī and  
 Jāhī<sup>1</sup>

گه دل از عشق و تن گه حگرم میسوزد  
 و ق هر لحظه دداغ دگرم میسوزد  
 همک و پروانه ده شمع سروکار مرا  
 که اگر بیس دوم سال و بهرم میسوزد

Sometimes the heart burns with the love of  
 the beautiful, sometimes the liver,  
 Love every second burns me with a fresh scar;  
 Like the moth I have my affair with a candle  
 lamp,  
 That if I go further, my wing and feather  
 burn.

Humāyūn improving on the last hemistich put it  
 as follows.

میزوم پیش اگر سال و بهرم میسوزد

<sup>1</sup> Both were notable poets of Persian language and received favours from Humāyūn. The latter having entered into his service at Cābul accompanied him to India, and remained here till his death which occurred in 956 A. H. For a fuller account of his life and verses refer Badā'uni, Vol I, pp 477—480

<sup>2</sup> Bā Yazīd, Tārīkh i Humāyūn, I O MSS No 223, fol 12b

On another occasion he improved on Jehi Yāzmi yān of Bukhārā, who had entered his service at Cabul. The former had composed a satire on Muhammad khān Shāhūr and was asked by Humāyūn to read it before the assembly in which Muhammad khān also was present. When the poet recited the following verses

ساعیر شاه عیانوه و خلیل در گه  
 میرند کوکله ساعیرم : ه ه ه  
 وای انکس که : ل سعا ر د  
 هر که باما : ر د ملا : ر د

I am the poet of the king Humāyūn and am  
 the dust of his court,  
 The star of the banner of my poetry taunts  
 the moon  
 Alas for him who picks a quarrel with the  
 band of poets,  
 Whoever quarrels with us quarrels with  
 calamity

Humāyūn at once remarked

حرا محسن : گوئی "هر که باما : ر د بخدا  
 " : ر د

Why dost thou not say so    whoever quarrels  
 with us quarrels with God ?

1 Rawshanī, Vol. I p. 477

2 Ibid.



He has been often referred to by Jauhar and Mirzā 'Alā'uddaula Qazwīnī as reading the Qur'ān and also quoting from memory several verses from same on various occasions. His knowledge of Arabic. Once on gaining victory over the Afghāns he recited the verse

إِلَهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِهِ

Praise be to Him Who brought us to life  
On another occasion he quoted from the *Traditions* as follows

مَنْ حَفَرَ بَخْلًا لِرَافِقِهِ وَقَعَ فِيهِ

He who dug a pit for his brother, verily himself fell into it

Some more instances are to be found in the works of contemporary authors like Bā-Yazīd and Jauhar. They show to a certain extent his knowledge in Arabic as well as his taste for religious literature

From his very childhood he evinced a taste for Mathematics, History, Geography, and Astronomy, and took regular lessons on these branches of Science from Shaikh Abul Qāsim Astrābādī, and Maulānā Ilyās.

His taste for Mathematics, History, Geography, and Astronomy

<sup>1</sup> Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, B M MSS, Or 1761, fol 37a

<sup>2</sup> Tazkirat ul Wāqifāt, B M MSS, Add. 16, 711 fol 78b

و در هم امسال فرمای عالمیان باسم شیخ ابوالقاسم  
 استرآبادی که علم ریاضی را خوب میداند ب صاحب سده  
 بود و حضرت شاه جهان شیخ ابوالقاسم (بستار می  
 کردند) اینک قرار داده بودند که ساکن او شوند  
 و سبق بخواهند و آخر بموجب قرار داد عمل فرمودند و  
 بستان را به در-لا ساهیان درآمده فرستادند تا اگر  
 خوب سرقرار شود.

And in this very year the royal mandate in the name of Shaikh Abul Qasim Astrābādī who knew the science of Mathematics well had been issued And His Majesty had resolved to become his pupil and take lessons from him, and at last His Majesty according to his resolution acted And the abovenamed scientist, having entered into His Majesty's service in the link of soldiers, was installed in a good *ḡūr* in India.

Abul Fazl and Farishta write thus

در آن-ام علوم ریاضی را در آن-ام بستان  
 و همواره به ارباب علم و ادب میداد و منتظران  
 علم ریاضی در بستان سعادتمند بودند

<sup>1</sup> Ba Yāzid, *Tārīkh-i Humāyūn*, L. O. MSS. 223, fol. 24b

<sup>2</sup> Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p. 263.

And in the branches of Mathematics His Majesty ranked high and he always associated with scientists and those distinguished in Mathematics had the boon of attending at the foot of the sublime throne.

و در علم ریاضی کتم مهارت می افراست و در حساب و هندسه و نجوم و طب و فقه و ادب و تاریخ و جغرافیه و سایر علوم و فنون و در هر یک از اینها کمال و کمال کمال می نمود -

And in the science of Mathematics he lifted up the banner of skill. His social intercourse was based with the learned and the accomplished, and at all times in his assembly scientific problems were discussed.

In history he appears to have been conversant with the Muslim periods of different countries specially India, Central Asia, and Arabia. Once he related a historical anecdote of Mahmūd of Ghazni's army to serve as a lesson to his own men purporting that honesty is the key to success.<sup>2</sup>

Also, he transcribed in his own handwriting his father's autobiography ' *Wāqī'āt i Bāburī* ' from the beginning to the end. This would have

<sup>1</sup> Farsihta, Vol. I, p 459

<sup>2</sup> Cf the statement

تاریخ پادشاه این رعایت مردم خود اظهار کردند که نیست - اینچنین  
تاریخ پادشاه چون نیست - اما صادق بود که هم قلم اردانی شد و هم کلمه یافت -  
[Jauhar, Tazkirat ul Wāqī'āt, B M, MSS Add. 16711, fol. 105b]

certainly given him an insight into the social and political relations of the contemporary Central Asian States. He also developed a taste for Geography and had globes constructed for his use.

پس کرا حل، آب انتظام، و نه سم ربع کرد  
به اقالیم هفت وقوع یافت برون

So the globes of the earth and the water had been set up and the divisions of the habitable quarter into seven regions accomplished.

His tutors in Astronomy were Mullā Nūruddīn and Maulānā Ilyās. The keen interest which he took in this branch of science is significant as compared with his father's as well as with that of his successors in India. Babur and pre-Bābur Mughals (with the exception of Ulūgh Beg) down to his own time apparently had little faith or

His tutors in Astronomy and his interest and activities in this branch of science.

<sup>1</sup> Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p. 351

Son of Shāh Rukh and grandson of Tīmūr had been appointed as governor of Māwarān-nahr during his father's lifetime. He was a devoted student of Astronomy, Mathematics, and Philosophy and a patron of those interested in scientific subjects. During his governorship he got built at Samarkand an Observatory which was called after his name. He also marked the position of stars and recorded his observations in a separate volume known as *Zīj-ulūgh Bey* (or Ulūgh Beg's Almanac). Daulat Shāh has given a glorious account of Ulūgh Beg's scientific

knowledge in things astrological. He got built a 'Khargāh' (a tent) which was divided into twelve halls of audience, each of which was named after one of the twelve constellations of stars. The furniture and paintings of these halls, as also the dresses of the servants, bore emblematic symbol of the planets :

۱ وار۔ ۱۰۰ معتزعات شریعت آید۔ سرت خرگاہے ہون  
کہ معدن نروج سپہر مشتمل در دوازدہ دودہ  
ہر برج مشتمل در دوازہ ہا کہ اسوار کواکب دودہ ار  
قبہا۔ ان نامان ہون و خرگاہے دیگر مابند فلک الافلاک  
میں دوا۔ اس فرگاہ را امامی دودہ ہون۔

And of all the inventions of His Majesty was a tent which was divided, according to the number of the zodiacs of the sky, into twelve divisions. Every zodiac was divided into cages, from the holes of which the rays of the stars of Fortune shone bright. And another tent like the 'falakul aflāk' (or the sky of skies) enveloped the sides of this tent.

activities and his great achievements in the theoretical and applied Astronomy. According to him there has appeared no monarch like 'Ulugh Bēg, in the whole history of Islām [vide Tazkiratush Shu'arā—Edited by Prof. Browne Account of 'Ulugh Bēg, pp 361—6] For a description of a Calendar based on 'Ulugh Bēg's system, vide Carré de Vaux's article 'Un Calendrier Turque' in Essays presented to Professor E. G. Browne, edited by T. W. Arnold and R. A. Nicholson.

Also he got ready a carpet which had nine astronomical circles marked on it, each of which was named after a particular star and assigned to his courtiers according to their ranks

۱ و از این دایره های آسمانی و دایره های زمینی و دایره های  
۲ دایره های آسمانی و دایره های زمینی و دایره های  
اول (که دایره های آسمانی و دایره های زمینی و دایره های  
سده بود و دایره های آسمانی و دایره های زمینی و دایره های  
چهارم (که دایره های آسمانی و دایره های زمینی و دایره های  
(که دایره های آسمانی و دایره های زمینی و دایره های  
نهم اعظم است) زمین و هفتم (که دایره های آسمانی و دایره های  
سز و زمین و دایره های آسمانی و دایره های زمینی و دایره های  
و دایره های آسمانی و دایره های زمینی و دایره های  
از دایره های آسمانی و دایره های زمینی و دایره های  
به نفس نفیس دایره های آسمانی و دایره های زمینی و دایره های  
سریر آرای خلافت و دایره های آسمانی و دایره های زمینی و دایره های  
کواکب و دایره های آسمانی و دایره های زمینی و دایره های  
کرده شده) دایره های آسمانی و دایره های زمینی و دایره های  
را در دایره های آسمانی و دایره های زمینی و دایره های

And of the inventions of his Majesty was a measure carpet, and that spherical carpet was divided into the circles of the sky and the globes of the Elements. The first circle

(which was attributed to ' *falak i atlas* ') was white in colour . and the second was blue ; and the third in appropriateness with Saturn was black , and the fourth (which is the resort of Jupiter) was of sandal colour , and the fifth (which is related to Mars) was of ruby colour ; and the sixth (which is the abode of the Sun) golden , and the seventh (which is the resting place of Venus) bright green , and the eighth (which is the place of Mercury) is of lily colour , and the ninth circle (which is the halt of the Moon) is white . And after the circle of the moon the spheres of the fire and the air were arranged in order . His Majesty for himself adopted the golden circle, and there seated himself on the throne, and every group of people, from among those assigned to the seven planets, was ordered by his Majesty to sit in a circle (which was constructed just opposite to that planet) for instance, the Indian ' *Umarā* ' were ordered to sit in the circle of Saturn, and the learned in that of Jupiter.

۱ و از ، رایہ ، اختراعات آدمیست پوشیدن لباس  
 هر دور دور مواضع رنگی که مذکور است در دور است  
 که صریحاً اوست چنانکه در دور یکصد و شصت و دو دور می  
 پوشیده اند که مذکور است در دور است و در دور پوشیده  
 لباس است که مذکور است در دور و درین قیاس -

And among the excellent inventions of his Majesty was the dress for each day in accordance with the colour attributed to the planet of that day which is its patron so that on Sunday his Majesty robed himself in yellow which is attributed to the Sun and on Monday in green which is attributed to the Moon and so on

He was also preparing to build an observatory for which necessary apparatus and the site had <sup>Materials</sup> been provided but owing to his sudden <sup>ready for an</sup> death the same could not be accom-  
<sup>ished</sup> plished

و آنچه امرت را اراده بستی رصد مصمم بود و بسیاری  
از آلات رصدی فراهم داده بودند و چند محل رصد  
خیال فرموده بودند -

And his Majesty was firmly resolved to build an observatory and had set up in order many of the instruments for same and had fixed in his mind a few sites as well.

All this taste he acquired in Indian atmosphere evidently under the influence of Hindū astrology which came into contact with Persian astrology for the first time under the patronage of a Mughal emperor. Like the *Pandits* he believed in the efficacy of the stars and their potentiality in producing good or bad results in consequence of which

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p 268



he had regulated all his actions according to the supposed influence of the twelve zodiacs and the seven planets. His keenness for astronomical researches has been further described as follows by the Turkish Admiral who was himself made to work on same, and permitted to leave India subject only to the work being finished:

“The roads are flooded and impassable, remain therefore till the weather improves  
Turkish  
Admiral's  
evidence
 Meanwhile calculate Solar and Lunar Eclipses, their degree of Latitude, and their exact date in the Calendar. Assist our astrologers in studying the course of the Sun, and instruct us concerning the points of the Equator When all this is done and the weather should improve before three months are over, thou shalt go hence”. . . All this was said solemnly and decisively, I had no alternative but must submit to my fate. At last I had accomplished the astronomical observations, and about the same time Āgra fell into the hands of the Pādīshāh.<sup>1</sup>

A. Vambéry, *Travels and Adventures of Sīdī ‘Alī, Re’īs*, p. 48 The part played by astrological terms in the development of the more ornate forms of later Persian is perhaps one of its most remarkable features

### CHAPTER III

There were many foreign and Indian poets attached to his court. The following is a selected list of scholars including historians and poets of Persian and Hindi who received his patronage or actually entered his service in India.

1. Shaikh Amīnullāh Pānīpatī
2. Shaikh Gadā : Dehlevī
3. Mir Wazīr
4. Shaikh Abdul Wahid Bilgrāmī
5. Maulānā Jalālī Hindī
6. Maulānā binī Ashraf al Husainī
7. Maulānā Nadīrī Samarqandī
8. Mir Abdul Latīf Qazwīnī
9. Maulānā Ilyās
10. Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī
11. Maulānā Junūbī
12. Shāh Tāhīr Dakhānī
13. Shaikh Abul Wājīd Fāriqī Shīrāzī
14. Yūsuf binī Muhammad Hīrawī
15. Khwāja Ayyūb son of Khwāja Abul Barakāt
16. Maulānā Muhammad Fāzīl Samarqandī
17. Jauhar
18. Bā Yazīd





he had composed on the death of Sultān Chaghtā'i, a young Mughal chief who was a favourite of Humāyūn.

سُلطان چغتای بود گل گلشن مریمی  
 ماگه ۱-۱ ش ۱۰۰ یو حمان راه دودن شد  
 در موم گل عرم ۱۰۰ کرد اریں باع  
 دل عجمه ۱۰۰ در خم او عرقه دودن شد  
 تاراج و - از دلیل ماتم رده جاتم  
 در ماله شد و گم - گل اریں دودن شد

Sultān Chaghtā'i was the flower of the  
 garden of excellence,  
 All of a sudden Death led him on the way  
 to Paradise,  
 In the season of flowers he resolved to go  
 from this garden,  
 The heart like the bud drowned in blood in  
 his grief,  
 The date of his departure I sought from the  
 grief-stricken nightingale,  
 It went into lamentation and said, 'a flower  
 went out of the garden.'

He was one of the greatest scholars of Humāyūn's reign, and was the son of the famous poet Shaikh  
 Shaikh Jamālī Kambūh of Sultān Sikandar  
 Gadā'i Deh- Lodi's court. He spent much of his  
 early life in acquiring knowledge  
 and in lecturing to students of moral philosophy

and logic in Gujarāt. In the year of Humāyūn's death, he repaired to the court of Akbar at the invitation of Bairām Khān and was raised through the latter's special favour to the high rank of *sadrat*.<sup>1</sup> This installation of the Shaikh was chiefly due to his past loyal services to Bairām Khān during his stay in Gujarāt where he had gone on a special mission in the reign of Humāyūn. His alliance with Bairām Khān which gave him ample shelter and scope for showing favours to his own followers and disciples by appointing them to responsible posts led him subsequently to interfere with the politics of the State and he became a zealous member of a political party against Akbar. Abul Fazl as a loyal supporter of Akbar's interests condemns the Shaikh as a mischief maker and a rebel. His power and influence came to an end with the fall of Bairām Khān. As a scholar he still remained prominent. So great was the fame of his learning that scholars from Māwarā un Nahr, Irāq and Khurāsān used to come to India for an

<sup>1</sup> Akbar Nāma, Vol. II, p. 21

Cf. the statement:

ہاتھان ہر ہشتن سنگ دی بیگ فوائدن و خیم گدائی  
کنو ۱۰۰۰۰ تہا ہشتن آوردہ عہالت علم ہشتن گولت و چوں  
ہشتن نورانی حضرت عاشقانی و عبادت این گورہ کٹر مسد آگاہی  
ہالت ہشتن از آنکہ این گورہ گورہ ہشتن عہالت ۱۰۰۰۰ عہالت  
سازند الخ

[Ibid. p. 21]

interview with him.<sup>1</sup> He is the first notable example in the reign of Humāyūn to combine the knowledge of Arabic and Persian with that of Hindi. In Persian he wrote chiefly '*ghazal*' of which a specimen is given below :

دگر چه جان منزل غم شد گهر دل  
 ..... را میبزم منزل : منزل  
 شد غافل ز حال درد مندی  
 که از حال تو یکدم بیست غافل  
 دل دیوانه در راه تو میتم  
 گریه تارم بآن مشکین سلاسل  
 بجان دادن اگر آسان شدی کار  
 بودی عاشقانه را هیچ شکل  
 گدائی - ان ناکامی در آمد  
 شد کام ز اهل یار - اصل

Sometimes the soul was the abode of love,  
 sometimes the heart,  
 I carry thy love from place to place ;  
 Be not remiss to the need of one, grief-  
 stricken,  
 For he forgets not thee for a moment ;

<sup>1</sup> Cf

و چند سال مرجع اکبر و افانل هندوستان و خراسان و مازندران  
 و عراق بوده

[ Badā'uni, Vol III, p 76 ]

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

I tied my infatuated heart to thy curly lock  
I am ensnared in that musky chain  
If by surrendering one's life the task would  
become easy,  
To lovers no difficulty would have remained  
O Gada', life ended with failure  
My object was not achieved from the ruby  
lips of the beloved



I hope so much that my penitence,  
May serve before thee as an excuse for my  
sin.

One instance of his *qit'a*-writing is to be found  
in the following chronogram which he composed on  
the death of Mirzā Kāmran at Mecca :

ایام کامران در سال  
که در سال سی و یکم از  
هجری در شهر محرم چار سال  
دکلی دل از قید عالم رها شد  
ز دست وقوف هیچ چار سال  
ساحرام هیچ جان به افغان نداشت  
چو در غراب و بیسی در آمد شد  
سایه و دود و رخ و ش فرزند  
بگم از دیر مدت از فوت ما  
دگر - شاه مرعوم در کعبه ماند

The king Kāmran, the renowned monarch,  
Who through rule...raised his head to Saturn;  
Became a sojourner in the *harem* for four  
years,  
Freed his heart completely from the prison  
of this world;  
After the realization of the fourth *haj*,  
In the *ihram* of *haj* entrusted his soul to the  
Beloved,

When one night he appeared in Walsi a dream  
 He showed kindness and called him near  
 Then said if they ask thee about my decease  
 Say the blessed king remained in Ka'ba.'

His poetry as seen from the above is simple and melodious and was but slightly affected by the current poetic tendencies at the court.

Like Shaikh Gadā'i he too was a Hindi-Persian poet, and a scholar of varied accomplishments. On account of constant reading and writing his sight became weak. Badā'uni interviewed him at Qannauj in 977 A H when the Shaikh on account of his old age had confined himself to his native place. His chief works are the following

1. A commentary on *Nuḥat ul Arwāḥ*<sup>1</sup> which Badā'uni praises as authentic.
2. *Sangh*—a treatise on the technical terms of Sūfism.

In his last days he was much devoted to Sūfism and wrote several works on that subject. He also composed Hindi verses and sang them in Hindi tune. In Persian composition he paid more attention to *ghazal* and wrote elegant verses in same. The chief feature of his poetry as is commonly observed in contemporary writers is the frequent use of figures of speech with an attempt to create niceties in them. Once he wrote a *ghazal* with a flexible turn of phrase

<sup>1</sup> A work on Sūfism by a celebrated scholar Fakhrus Sa'adat, written in the early part of the eighth century A H at Herāt.

and fancy in praise of his dear friend named Rāja.  
The opening line is worth noticing.

اے کردہ خیال بوند قلم دل ما را  
هرگز بوند در دل ما میرترا را

O thou, whose thought has made its seat on  
the throne of my heart,  
Never in my heart is there place for other  
than thee.

Another beautiful verse quoted by Badāūnī is as follows

مرو، مرو، چو اول دساح آمد  
دمی، ایام، دین قار و دین بر خیزم

A poet of Humāyūn's court—chiefly known for his lyric poetry and enigma-writing both in Hindī and Persian. Two of his '*ghazals*,' of which the opening lines are as follows, are specially noteworthy as serving to illustrate the tendency of average poets towards introducing original and creative ideas with flexible shifts.

Maulānā Jalālī Hindī

<sup>1</sup> Badāūnī, Vol III, p 66

[Note the play on the Hindī word Rāja (راجا) and its ingenious fusion into the Persian compound (توراجا) which may equally be read as (توراجا) making it a Persian-Hindī compound with a welcome shift in meaning

زاهد زحام بادۂ لعل تو شد  
روے تو دہد عاشق و آتش پر = شد

The devotee got intoxicated from the cup of  
the wine of thy ruby (lip)  
The lover saw thy face and became a fire-  
worshipper

وعدۂ وصل تو اے ماہِ زہد افتادۂ است  
وہ کہ ایں وعدۂ چہ بسیار بہمد افتادۂ است

Thy promise of union O moon, has fallen on  
the Id  
Oh on what a distant date this promise has  
fallen!

He flourished in India under Bābur and Humāyūn  
and was among the literati of their courts. He  
was a student of natural science in  
which he seemed to take great interest.  
His work entitled *Jawāhir nāmā :  
Humāyūnī* which he dedicated jointly  
to the father and the son is a dissertation on the

Enhammad  
Ibn Ashraf  
al Humāyūnī  
Rizā'ī

<sup>1</sup> *Daghlatārī, Riyāz ush Shu'arā, B. M. MSS., Add. 16 729 fol. 109b.*

*Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Or 1717 B. M. MSS.

Cf. the (Ibn al-)

چہیں گوید معزز ای رسالۂ مصد ایہ اشرف تصنیف الہند لاری  
کہ ہر ہی اوقات کہ اعلیٰ حضرت ابو الفزلی شہر الدینی مصد ہر  
پانچواں خلافت ملکہ. تمام صلاک - دار کیں وا ہو تصد لوائے  
مرعی آسائے خود ہو آوردہ " ہ ہو ہکتہ واجب تحیل نمرہ  
کہ رسالۂ شاعر ہو باب جواہر مرتب ملکہ موعظ باقلب ملی نامی  
پانچواں و پانچواں ہادگی - اتم -

(Ibid. fol. 8a-8b.)

use and formation of precious stones and other mineral It is divided into 22 chapters as follows :

Preface	Foll 1a-4b	A short discourse on the divisions of natural objects
Chapter I	„ 4b-11a	On 'lūlū' (pearl)
„ II	„ 11a-15b	On 'ya'qūt' (sapphire)
„ III	„ 15b-19a.	On 'la 'l' (ruby)
„ IV	„ 19a- 21b	On 'zamurrad' (emerald) and 'zabarjad' (topaz)
„ V	„ 21b-22b	On 'zabarjad' (topaz)
„ VI	„ 22b-26b	On 'almās' (diamond)
„ VII	„ 26b-27b	On 'ainul hur (cat's eye)
„ VIII	„ 27b 31b	On 'firūza' (turquoise)
„ IX	„ 31b-42b	On 'pā-zahr' *
„ X	„ 42b-43b	On 'aqīq' (cornelian)
„ XI	„ 43b-45a.	On 'other' stones of the same family.
„ XII	„ 45a 45b	On 'Jaza' (a kind of stone)
„ XIII	„ 45b-48b	On 'magnātīs' (magnet)
„ XIV	„ 48b 49a	On 'sundbāda' (a stone used for polishing metal)
„ XV	„ 49a-50a	On 'dahāna' (a mineral)
„ XVI	„ 50a-53a	On 'lājward' (lapis lazuli)
„ XVII	„ 53a-55b	On busud wa marjān (corals and pearls)
„ XVIII	„ 55b 57b	On 'yashab' (jasper)
„ XIX	„ 57b 58b.	On 'billūr' (crystal)
„ XX	„ 58b 59a.	On 'kān' (mine)
„ XXI	„ 59a-69a.	On miscellaneous kinds of stones
„ XXI'	„ 69a-77b	On metals

\* A charmed stone said to be found in the head of serpents and is reputed as an antidote for all kinds of poison.

It was undertaken in the reign of Bābur some-time after his conquest of Hindūstān<sup>1</sup> and finished under the patronage of Humāyūn and presented to him.

He was a learned scholar of Arabic and Persian. He came to Āgra from Maulāna Nādirī Samarqandī Samarqand and was given a place among the elite of the court. Badā'uni's remark about his scholarship is as follows

مولا نا دیری سرقلندی.. از نوا در روزگار و نامل  
و جامع کامل بود -

Maulāna Nādirī Samarqandī was among the rarities of the age and was a highly learned and accomplished scholar

As a poet of Persian language he built up a reputation and wrote all kinds of poetry including 'ghazal', rubāi and qasida'. A specimen of each is given below

Ghazal

دو چه حرام است قد یار را  
بنده شوم آن قد و رفتار را  
یار سوسه ما نه ترحم آید  
داشت مگر جانب اغیار را  
سوسه خرابات گلبر نادی  
در سر می کن سوسه زار را

<sup>1</sup> Vide Supra, p. 45 fn. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Badā'uni, Vol. I, p. 472.

Ibid.

How charming is the gait and the form of  
the beloved,

I would become a slave to that form and gait ;

The beloved did not look on us with pity,

Perhaps he cherished a regard for the rivals ;

Go towards the tavern O Nādir !

Yield your head and turban to the thought of  
wine.

His composition was not without subtleties which had been largely introduced in India under the patronage of the Mughal court. The following verse which he composed in praise of one Nizām, with whom he is said to have been in love, is illustrative of the popular taste and the atmospheric tendencies in the art of composition :

من دل شکسته گویم صفای نامی  
که بدادش دیو مالش دل ناتوان نامی

I the broken-hearted utter the praise of the  
one named Nizām,

For my weak heart did not keep order (*nizām*)  
without union with him.

رگویت که یاری بودم آجا  
بعد خون کجا آردم آجا

<sup>1</sup> Ibid, p 472

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p 473

NOTE.—The second hemistich of the first line may also be translated as 'I swear by my life when did I get rest there ?'

دگر دگر سر نهانم  
 تو بودی کعبهٔ مردم آنجا  
 چنانی که در من ماندهٔ محروم  
 صدمهٔ مقبول در من مردودم آنجا  
 چه پرسی نادری حونی دران کو  
 گهم ناخوش گهم خوش بودم آنجا

At the top of thy lane where I have lived a  
 lifetime  
 When did I get rest in my whole life ?  
 With the intent of prostration where er I  
 laid my head  
 Thou wast the Ka ba of my object there  
 What dost thou ask, O Nādir! how farest  
 thee in that lane ?  
 Sometimes unhappy and sometimes happy  
 was I there

Rubā :

در تصورم و در دل از تو دارم صد غم  
 بے لعل لبست حریف در دم همه دم  
 زین عمر ملولم من کس غریب  
 خواهم سود آرام گهم کوئے عدم

Grief-stricken I am and I possess in my  
 heart a hundred sorrows from thee,  
 Without the ruby of thy lip I am faced with  
 anguish all the moments



In this life am melancholy, I, the humble  
and the indigent,  
My place of rest shall be the lane of annihi-  
lation.

One of his '*qasā'id*,' in which he delineated on Humāyūn's taste for Mathematics and his prepossessions for science, is as follows. It is as well illustrative of the general style and the standard obtained in the art of '*qasida*'-writing

ایامه الامه که در میان خاطر  
نامش در سینه من در میان معاصر  
گزاردها اش اگر حراق است که آید  
در صورت گل و لعل عای نهاده خاطر  
عریان در غراں بود مگر تراحم و استان  
کز خرقه صد پاره گل و دوحته ستر  
یکبار گل و یاسمن و بنبل و ریحان  
ایمان بهار آمده ناحیل و نه اکر  
مرغان صحران شاه ملک مرتبه خوانان  
در شراح در حلقان جو خایمان معاصر  
حراقان معاصر هم قدر مایون  
کش و متقوی و دل از قدرت قادر  
از دایش او دادش اسرار و سیرت  
وردیش او بیدش ارباب و سایر  
مهره جو حرام است در احکام شریعت

اعمال نیکه نمرات او امر  
 جمع آمده بهر ظفر اکر اسلام  
 آحاد سعادتی در دلمراں مسا کر  
 زهر علم نغم نمدان سعادت  
 ناس کرم لم یزلی حافظ و ناصر  
 اے تا کف خود تو قوام همه اسما  
 قائم بدم تیغ تو اعرافی و خواهر  
 در روز ازل بود خداوند جهان را  
 عیون و حود تو ازین حنبر دایر  
 حیرت اگر بار دگر وحی نبارد  
 در شان تو طاعن بود آیات طواهر  
 عو نیکه که که لب لعل تو فرمود  
 مسهور جهان شد جو حایر معواتر  
 معنی است که سرم کتب من ربانی است  
 ایتان متین تو در ایستاد دواهر  
 کس دانی بسار ترا حور کند انکار  
 انکار ندیده نیکه عمر مکنبر  
 احصای کمالات تو کردن نتوانم  
 کاندر همه لغها حد کامل و ماعر  
 با عقل حد اند و اعمال تو دارد  
 نفس ملکی نه احسان مساهر  
 حود تو بهر که در ساهت بهتس  
 نا خواسته دانی همه حاجات مساهر

He died in 966 A. H., and the following chronogram was written by Mir Amānī Kabli.

و ا... ما که نادری نکته دان داد  
 آن نادری که دان سخن داد درجهان  
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~  
 گفته آخر که رفت یکی از سرهنگان

He was appointed by Humāyūn as tutor to the young prince Akbar at Cābul, after Mullā Pīr Muhammad.<sup>1</sup> On Humāyūn's second entry into Hindūstān he was invited by the latter to come to Āgra, and on his arrival in 963 A.H., just after Humāyūn's death, was received by Akbar with marks of greatest favour and kindness.<sup>2</sup> His father Qāzī Yahyā was well-read in history and enjoyed the fame of a historian in his lifetime. He is said to have known by heart the various Muslim dynasties that ruled in Central Asia, Turkey, and Hindūstān. Hairatī, a poet of Trans-Caspian Province, eulogises his wonderful memory and historical insight in the following complimentary verse

قصه تاریخ او باید شنید  
 کس درین تاریخ مثل او ندید

<sup>1</sup> Ibid, p 475

<sup>2</sup> Farishta, Vol I, p 466

<sup>3</sup> Akbar Nāma, Vol. II, p 19

<sup>4</sup> Badāʾunī, Vol III, p 97

The tale of history ought to be heard from  
him

None in the present day has seen any one  
like him.

Mir Abdul Latif himself like his father was deeply interested in history and it was probably due to his command of the subject that he received his appointment as tutor to the young prince. It is noteworthy that his younger brother Mir Alā'ud daula Qazwini, who was trained and brought up under the fostering care of his elder brother was equally a fine historian and wrote the famous work *Nafā'is ul Mafā'ir* from which both Badā'uni and Abul Fazl have derived their material for the literary phase of Humāyūn's reign.

He was a student of Mathematics and Astronomy and was unrivalled in his day for his knowledge in those two branches of science. He acted as tutor to Humāyūn and taught him lessons on Astronomy. It was due mostly to the training received under him that Humāyūn subsequently developed a considerable taste for that science. Badā'uni tells us that he was proficient in the subject and thoroughly capable of erecting an Observatory<sup>1</sup>. Once when he happened to visit Ardabil in the latter part of his life he wrote a letter to Shāh Ismā'il II (whom Shāh Tahmāsp

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the statement :

موفقا الیہ۔ کہ استاد ہائیں پادشاہ و لیاقت و استعداد  
رصد یعنی داشت الخ

[Ibid., p. 181.]

had in his lifetime imprisoned in the fort of 'Qahqaha'), saying that from the confluence of stars it transpires that he (Shāh Isma'īl II) would succeed to the throne and that his other opponents would soon be vanquished. In that letter he also directed Shāh Isma'īl to visit him at Ardabil on his release from the prison so that he might put him under the right stars which would lead to his future glory and uninterrupted retention of power. But the latter, while passing Ardabil in procession, on being released by his party in consequence of the revolution which followed the death of his arch-rival Haidar Mirzā, forgot to see the Maulānā, and having gone some distance subsequently recollected the prediction and suddenly turned back and called at the Maulānā's house. The Maulānā locked the door from inside but the Shāh managed to get in by climbing over the wall. Thereupon the Maulānā covered his face and refused to see him saying that the hour appointed was gone and the opportunity lost, since the planets had just moved from their position. The Shāh then was obliged to leave, and though proclaimed king at Qazwin, yet strange to say that after a year's successful reign, he met his tragic death in a confectioner's house in 985 A.H. It was surmised that he was poisoned at night when under the intoxication of opium, in consequence of the cruelties which he had inflicted on his house and the court.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, Vol I, p 517, London, 1815

He was a distinguished scholar and a favourite poet of Humāyūn. As the latter he wrote all kinds of poetry and compiled a separate *diwān* consisting of *qasida masnawi* and *ghazal*. He stands a contrast with his fellow poets in easiness of style and use of simple and plain language. The sweetness inherent in his poetry is hardly approached by any one of his contemporaries. He composed several *qasid* and *qit'at* in praise of Humāyūn. The following chronogram which he wrote on the emperor's death is reproduced by Jauhar as one of the finest ever written.

ہمایوں بادشاہ آن آفتابی  
 کہ قیض شامل او عام ایتاد  
 بنائے دولتش حوں یالت رعب  
 اساس عیسی از انکھام ایتاد

- <sup>1</sup> *Tazkirat ul Wajiz 'at*, B M MSS., Add. 16,711 fol. 144a.  
 NOTE.—Mirza Ali 'uddaula Qazwini, author of *Nafis* ul *Ma'ad* quotes only three — one of which only one is common. The other two are as follows

ہمایوں بادشاہ ملک و معنی ندارد کس چو او غافل  
 ز کام کس کرد ایتاد تا کہ ازلی سر مزیدی رعب ایتاد

- The same is reproduced by Badā'uni, and quoted by Prof. Browne. It is noteworthy that the last line which is the chronogram of Humāyūn's death gives the year 962. But the death actually took place in 963 A.H. and the chronogram is therefore short by 1 year.

چو خورشید به جهان تاب از بلند  
 بهایان در بهار شام ازاد  
 جهان تاریک شد در چشم مردم  
 زالی در کار حاص و عام ازاد  
 بی تاریخ او کاسی رقم زد  
 "بهاییون پادشاه از بام ازاد"

Humāyūn, the king, is that sun,  
 Whose all-embracing bounty fell common to  
 all;  
 The structure of his power, when it attained  
 its height,  
 The foundation of his life fell from its base,  
 Like the world-illuminating sun from its  
 height,  
 Down below at the time of evening prayer he  
 fell;  
 The world became dark in the eyes of the  
 people,  
 On the work of the high and the low confu-  
 sion fell,  
 For the date thereof Kāhī wrote,  
 Humāyūn, the king, from the terrace fell.

Of all the chronograms composed by other poets, this is decidedly the most natural and stands unbeaten in the simplicity of style, accuracy of detail, and beauty of language. Another equally simple and suggestive chronogram which he wrote

on Kāmran's death which took place at Mecca is as follows

کامران آنکه بلا اعی را  
 کس نبود سب = ۴ را و در خورد  
 سد ز کابل به کعبه و انصا  
 حلل بحق داد و حق بصل سرب  
 گفت تاریخ او حسن گاهی  
 پادشاه کامران به کعبه مرد

Kāmran was such that for the place of king  
 There was none so worthy as he  
 He went from Cābul to ha ba and ther  
 Entrusted the soul to the True One and the  
 body to the earth  
 Kāhl wrote the chronogram thus  
 The king Kāmran died in ha ba '

Abul Fazl calls him Miẓān Kāhl and counts him among the foremost poets of Akbar's court. Badā'uni too though points out his certain faults as a poet, thinks him unrivalled in his day in the essential features of poetry and in the composition of chronograms. He had also associated for some time with Jāmi at Herāt, and acquired there a competent knowledge of the commentary of the Qur'ān and mysticism. In the company of Kāmran he had gone to Mecca and performed his pilgrimage. For all this Badā'uni thinks him an atheist and finds him guilty

1. Badā'uni, Vol. I p. 4-2.



of gross religious and moral offences <sup>1</sup> It is amusing, however, to note that his composed poems were universally popular and sung even in Badāūnī's time in the assemblies of the Sūfis <sup>2</sup> The opening lines of some of his odes are as follows. They are unsurpassed in poetic grace and are to be classed among the best productions.

دختر که در جهان هستی ست، مگر من

همور در دین و دنیا، نار پرور من

My relentless love has slain a whole world  
with his daintiness,

Still he, the cherisher of my temper, is  
carrying on his amorous playfulness

دختر که در جهان هستی ست، مگر من

همور در دین و دنیا، نار پرور من

- <sup>1</sup> NOTE — Badāūnī's displeasure is probably due to the poet's acceptance of Akbar's heresies, for Abul Fazl calls him a disciple of the emperor, and also hints at his free and unorthodox life Cf —

از هر دین و دینی جدا گرد او فراموش بودی و ما چه نبیند و از تکی  
خویش پرده آرائی؟ یقی خداوند خیرت را از مریدان تو فرمودی —  
[Ā'in-i Akbari, Vol I, p 244]

- <sup>2</sup> Cf the statement

و این هر دو عزل را صوتی خوب است که در عالم شهره یافته در  
مسالک میخوانند و بزم ملوک و اهل لوبک بدان آرایش می یابند —  
[Badāūnī, Vol I p 452]

- <sup>3</sup> Ibid Vol III p 174

NOTE — Love is often treated by Persian poets as an ideal and then is referred to in masculine terms in the same way as Cupid is treated in English poetry

- <sup>4</sup> Ibid

It is not the narcissus that has displayed  
 itself over my grave  
 It is my vigilant eye that has in the long  
 expectation of thee turned white

‘ مرغ ناله بری چون بر رخس انگیز کرد  
 آن سودای لعل و سر او تیز کرد

The bird since it has started flapping its  
 wings over Majnūn's head  
 It has kindled the fire of his love for Lailā  
 ever more

‘ حوں ز عکس آئینه پر گل سود  
 گرد راں آئینه طوطی بنگرد بلبل سود

Since from the reflection of his cheek the  
 mirror becomes full of flower  
 If therefore a parrot look into that mirror  
 she would become a nightingale

‘ باران بلا بر رخس غم پرور ما  
 چه بلا که نبارد فلک بر سر ما

The rain of distress poured on my grief worn  
 body  
 What calamities did the sky not bring down  
 on my head !

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

The following, which is full of romantic similes and metaphors, is in praise of a handsome Yogi youth:

آتشیں رویتار - اک تر جو دنیا ویر شد  
یا اب ار آتش رو - تو مرا کہ تر شد

Thy fiery face has become like a lotus through  
the ashes smeared on thy face,  
Or the veil through the fire of thy face got  
burnt into ashes.

In a long '*qasida*'<sup>2</sup> he dwelt on Humāyūn's taste for Astronomy and the uses of certain instruments like the 'astrabe,' and 'compass' etc., which Humāyūn had selected for his contemplated observatory.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid

NOTE—It is still the custom of a Hindū Yogi to go about with his face smeared with dust, or ashes

It may also be observed that the similes employed here are drawn purely from Indian life and surroundings, and the verse is in every aspect Indian in its conception with the creative genius of a poet playing its part under favourable and encouraging circumstances

<sup>2</sup> This is the second notable instance to come across after Nādirī's *qasida* where the genius of a poet took a scientific turn and was spent in describing apparatuses instead of the usual praises of the court. This was done evidently to arrest Humayūn's attention and to commend their poetry to his notice. They knew that to gain his full appreciation of their verses it was necessary to compose them according to the royal taste. This shows the extent of the influence that the individual taste of a Mughal sovereign in India could exercise over the literature of his court, as also his power to direct and mould the popular taste of the country as a whole.

He was a poet of great gifts and composed several pieces extempore in his wonted strain. Once during his illness when Khwāja Mu'azzam Khān a noble of Khairābād went, in spite of pain in his foot, to see him he recited offhand a *ghazal* welcoming the Khwāja to the latter's great astonishment. It ran thus

’ مادی قدم زناز بروے نیاز من  
 دردے مداد ہائے ترا سرو ناز من  
 صر چند وصف وصل تو کردم سب فرای  
 کوته نگار قصہ درد دراز من

Thou hast stepped daintily over my needy  
 face  
 May there be no pain to thy foot, O my tender  
 cypress  
 However much I uttered the praises of thy  
 union on the night of separation  
 My lengthy tale of sorrow did not come to a  
 finish

He also wrote a *masnawī* entitled *gul afshān* as a reply to Sa’di’s *Būstān* and compiled a *diwān* consisting of *ghazal masnawī rubaī* and *qasida*

Before his coming to India, he had the usual prejudice which is of interest to note in his following composition

چون سایه مهر و رهیم مهر و روان شوی  
 باشد که رفته رفته بما مهرمان توی  
 اے پیرم شوق صحرایو به روی ۱۱۱  
 دردم که همی درایت روان شوی  
 کاهی تو دامن چمن آرا - کابل  
 راع و رعین نه که نه هم و ستان توی

Like a shadow we accompany thee wherever  
 thou shouldst go,  
 May be that by degrees thou shouldst become  
 kind to us,  
 O sage of love, seek the society of one like  
 Joseph,  
 It is not strange that like Zulaikhā thou  
 shouldst become young;  
 O, Kāhī, thou art the nightingale which  
 adorns the garden of Cābul,  
 - Thou art not a *crow* and a *kite* to go to  
 Hindūstān.

Soon after his arrival in India, there was a marked change in his tone which was gradually softened into the praises for the court and its literati.

He ranked among the foremost poets of Badakhshān, and entered Humāyūn's service when the latter conquered that province. In commemoration of this victory he composed the following chronogram and presented it to the emperor.

M a u l ā n ā  
 Junūbī

گرفتگی ساه ساهان دوران که سد  
 ترا کار لیم و لیم  
 گرفتگی بدخشان و تاریم سد  
 د همانم ساه ساه

Thou art the king of kings of the age  
 Thy work ever ended in victory and triumph  
 Thou didst seize Badakhshān and the date  
 was found in  
 Muhammad Humāyūn is the king of land  
 and sea.

He also wrote several *qasā'id* in praise of his master in the metre and style of Nizami, and Anwarī. The one quoted by Badā'uni, as being most famous and widely read runs thus

سپهسالارخ تو لاله و نسری لب تو حل  
 هم لب لب تو غنچه رنگس سده خندان  
 لبی گویم خط تو سر و دستان خد تو گل  
 شود طاهر قد تو فتله دوران دم حوالی

O emperor thy face is tulip and wild rose  
 and thy lip is life  
 I see thy lip a bud of resplendent hue that  
 has just begun to smile  
 I say not the down on thy cheek verdure and  
 hyacinth nor thy cheek a rose

Thy form shall prove to be '*the turmoil of the age*' when thou dost move.

The tendency to create subtleties in the use of figures of speech and exhaust skill at the artful devices, which is a striking feature of the later Mughal age, is also visible in his writings. In a '*masnawi*' which he composed in eulogy of his master he made use of all such subtleties to the discomfiture of his contemporaries. From its very first line quoted below, the drift and character of the whole poem can be gauged :

شهرنشاہ دین بادشاہ زمان  
مراعات الالباب  
کامران

<sup>1</sup> Ibid

Note the artistic use of the word '*humāyūn*' with '*kāmran*' in their both concrete and adjectival senses. This is a typical example of the usual attempts at the Indian courts to exhaust two or more figures of speech in one phrase. The prominent figures in the above are ایہام and مراعات الالباب [Equivocation and Homogeneity]. The great incentive to this sort of production is to be found in the applausive support of the Mughal kings who encouraged its growth in India as a piece of literary skill. But it must not be understood that this hobby was exclusively Indian. It was in fact Persian, but developed in India under more favourable circumstances. Cf. a similar instance of play on the word '*mahmūd*' (name of Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznawī) at the Persian court of Shāh 'Abbās—the Great, from Zulālī's masnawī entitled '*Mahmūd wa Ayūz*' beginning

نام آنکہ مسرور دیش ایازا \* \* \* \* \* می تہمانہ نار و نیازا

Also cf. the finishing line الہی عاقبت مسرور باشد [B.M. MSS.

Or 350] For further illustrations *vide supra*, p. 1<sup>o</sup> N 3

The emperor of religion and the king of the  
age

Became victorious through auspicious fortune.

His other poems including *rubā'iyāt* and *qasā'id* are to be found in the biographies of Persian poets. Some selections have been given by Badkūnī and Abul Fazl. The following from the latter is reproduced as a clever composition in praise of Akbar inducing him to bestow on the poet yet another elephant loaded with gold

تا بغلان میل دیدم دلستان خویش را  
صرف راه قبل کردم نقد جان خویش را  
حال بر سر میگاهم خون قبل صحرای  
گرفته دلم بر سر خود امان خویش را  
ساق قبل افکن حلال الدین مرا که کمر است  
آنکه به امان قبل زرب ساعراں خویش را

Since I noticed the attention of my heart  
ravisher towards elephants  
I spent in the path of the elephants the cash  
of my life  
I throw dust over my head like an elephant  
wherever I go

1. In Akbari Vol I p. 244

The above poem is a very good example of the Persian figure of speech known as *metaphor* wherein the channels of thought and metaphor are suggested purely from the luxuries of an Indian court.



If I do not find on my head my elephant-  
 driver ;  
 The elephant-braver king is that Jalāluddīn  
 Muhammad Akbar,  
 Who bestows on his poets elephants loaded  
 with gold.

He combined the knowledge of Astronomy with Poetry. In the latter he confined his attention chiefly to 'gasīda'-writing, and followed Nizām i Astrābādī, and Anwarī in general style. He entered Humāyūn's service in the first part of his reign, and presented to him the following 'gasīda' which he had composed in the metre of Anwarī.

محمل مهر جو آید به شبستان - دل  
 لاله فانوس در امروز و سرگش  
 کوه اردن ، در زمین و بی زمین کنون  
 وین ، از صاعقه اش انر مہاری مہل

The litter of the sun when it enters the night-  
 chamber of the *Ram*,  
 The tulip lights up the candle-lamp, and the  
 narcissus the torch ,  
 The mountain is now relieved of the headache  
 of December and January,

<sup>1</sup> Badā'ūnī—Vol I, p 483

Cf Anwarī's *gasīda*

چرم خورشید چو ار حوت فرآید : مہل

۱۴۲۰ . روز کند او مہل را ارید

The spring cloud washes the sandal powder  
from off its face.

Some of his *qasā'id* are most remarkable, and are composed in close imitation of those of the leading Persian poets like Salmān Zahir Anwarī and Khāqānī. A few of which the opening lines are quoted below are specially noteworthy

در غم آلود جهان عین از دل ناساز رفت  
خوبه غم کردیم خندانان که عین از زبان رفت

In the grief inhabited world life a joy left the  
unhappy heart,  
So much to grief were we given that life a  
joy was forgotten.

ما بهرم عشق بدنامم و زاهد از دنیا  
هر دو بدنامم اما ما کصای او کصا

We are notorious for our guilt of love and the  
devotee for his hypocrisy  
Both are notorious, but see the difference  
between him and ourselves.

بهر من میا که شهره ایام مشهوری  
ما که تو بدنام می ری

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 487

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

Ibid.

Don't come out, for thy fame will spread,  
We shall be killed and thou wilt be slandered.

بهر آنکه اس که سرکام گیتی به دل  
منزلهٔ اهل مرد دیرینه عاقل

He who fixes his heart on the object of the  
world,  
Is not wise before the men of wisdom.

باز وقتی که دروازهٔ تقاضا را ملک  
اگرند بر در ایوان چمن گل تو را

Again 'Tis time, through the sky's demands,  
That the rose spread a carpet before the  
palace-garden's gate.

He is called '*Dakhanī*' because he had devoted himself in his later years entirely to Deccan, and rose to considerable influence and fortune there. He originally belonged to 'Irāq wherefrom he came to Āgra and stayed there for some time in the beginning. Since he was an orthodox Shī'a and a zealous advocate of his religion, he often discussed with the Sunni court religious questions which eventually led to a friction between himself and his Sunni associates. He called himself a relation of Shāh Tahmāsp, and might be that he was purposely sent to Humāyūn's court by the Shāh to convert the emperor into Shī'a. From Āgra he went to his

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 484

elder brother Shāh Ja far in Deccan and took service under Burhān Nizām Shāh I ruler of Ahmadnagar who soon raised him to the rank of Deputy (*Vakil*) He is an epoch-making personage and opens a new chapter in the history of the Deccan by introducing the Shi'a faith in that country and converting the Shāh into a zealous Shi'a. Badā'uni relates the incident which led to the conversion of the Shāh as follows

و نظام شاه بکری را که بسیاری مومن لاعلاج داشت  
 درگاهش را فسون خوانی شاه بهرام جوهری روی داد و این  
 معنی را حمل بر کرامات شاه حفر نموده بلعوی  
 او از مذهب سنی و حماقت که بطریق مہدیہ داس  
 بر آمده متوفض غالی شد

Ibid. p. 483.

NOTE. A doubt is expressed by Professor Browne, in his recent work *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, A.D. 1500—1924 p. 169 fn. 2, as to the correctness of the epithet *Bakr* with which the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar were known. Cf —

I doubt if *Bakr* is a correct reading. It should perhaps be *Burhān*, the proper name of the second of the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar who reigned, etc.

As to its use as a title or surname of the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar there is not the least doubt. The historian Farishtā who, on his arrival in India, had at first settled at Ahmadnagar due to his father's appointment as tutor to Murtazā Nizām Shāh says that Nizām Mulk I, (whose real name on his conversion to Islam had been changed from *Malik Nāṣir* to *Malik Husayn* was for a time called *Baka* i.e. after the name of his Brahman father

And to Nizām Shāh Bahri, who had a chronic and incurable disease, through Shāh Ja'far's recitation of charm, relief appeared And having attributed this to Shāh Ja'far's supernatural powers, the king, through his instigation, renounced the Sunni faith which he had on the manner of Mahdīwī sect, and became a zealous bigot.

He died in 952 A H , and the date was found in the ingenious phrase *و او تاع امل يده مرده* and he was the follower of the house of 'Alī ) He was an excellent poet, and is the author of several poetical works consisting mostly of '*masnawī* and '*qasā'id* in praise of Humāyūn and Nizām Shāh Bahri.

He came to Āgra from Shirāz, and took his role as one of Humāyūn's court poets He had a Sūfistic turn of mind and lived a simple and unostentatious life. Badāūnī testifies to his fame as a poet and his tendency to Sūfism He possessed a sweet tongue and his poetry

Shaikh Abul  
Wajid Farighi  
Shirāzi

'Bahar ' This appellation was changed by Sultān Muḥammad Shāh into 'Bahri' with which the dynasty became subsequently known in the Deccan The Sultan had also entrusted to his care his favourite hawk together with other hunting animals due to the suggestivity of the word 'Bahri' (a hawk or a falcon) Cf the statement

ا-ان - سرود شاه در اداں - اتي چون لفظ در لورا - سرية ، كرده  
... در سرية - شاه را در پادشاهي و عالم به در سرية ملقب  
... بوا - مله ملا - اتي حواله - ا-ان - سرية سرود -

[Farishta, Vol. II, p 584.]

was full of pathos and the pang of spiritual love. He wrote chiefly *ghazal* on separation from his ideal beloved and in complaint of the latter's inattentions. Some specimens are as follows

از پس که آن حفا حوازار منماید  
اندل ترحم او بسار منماید

Since great is the torture that that tyrant  
shows

A little mercy from him appears as much.

بهد الله که وار ستم ز عشق - - بد خوی  
که می افتد خون چشم خون از تی بهر کوی  
حو ساغر از برای جرعه لب بر لب هر کس  
صراحی وار بهر ساغری مائل بهر سوی

God be praised that I was freed from the  
love of a quarrelsome drunkard  
Who fell into every street like his own  
intoxicated eye

Like a wine-cup for a draught of wine he  
put his lip to the lip of every one

Like a jug of wine for a cup of wine he was  
going in every direction

<sup>1</sup> Badā'uni Vol. I, p. 475.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

۱. مری که دل به وصل دوام دهره مند بود  
 دهن آفتاب که توان گشت چندان بود  
 القمه در فراف دگر شد شهاب  
 سرمای وصال که داند که چندان بود  
 امیر دوس پیش تو بودند و فارعی  
 از دورها بر آتش حرمان سپید بود

It is long                since my heart had the boon  
    of union with thee,  
 It was so short that it was as if it were not  
 In short, the days of life were spent in  
    separation,  
 The wealth of union who knew how great it  
    was ?  
 The rivals, last night, were before thee, and  
    Fārighī  
 From afar was like a rue on the fire of des-  
    pair.

۲. مری که دل به وصل دوام دهره مند بود  
 در پریشانی پریشادیدم از هم مگسند

The string of union do not break, O companions  
    of breath,  
 In scattering there is distress, do not break  
    away from each other

<sup>1</sup> Ibid, p 476

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

‘خو تر خود کسی از اقام نگذار بهکان را  
مرا دل ده که تا مردانه در راحت دهم جان را

When thou drawest the arrow from my chest,  
leave the arrow-head  
Give me heart so that like a brave man I may  
give my life in thy path

He breathed his last in 940A H at Āgra and was buried by the side of his late friend Shaikh Zainu'ddin whose death had occurred just a few months before him.\*

He lived at the Mughal court as personal physician to Bābur and Humāyūn and also as chief Munshi to the latter. He is the author of several works of diverse utility and nature including poetical medicinal and epistolary. In poetry he wrote chiefly *qasida* on subjects connected with public health and hygiene under the pen name 'Yūsufī. Some of his works are the following

Yūsuf bin  
Muhammad  
Hirwal

Ibid.

\* This is to be noted that both these poets on their arrival in India were in a very miserable condition. Shaikh Abul Waḥid who came from Shirāz had nothing with him besides one old fur coat on his body and so did the other. Cf. the statement

{مافی که هر روز گوار میخورم هند بردند از کفای مرقا نهر از کلاه پرسی  
بغیر نداشتند

[Ibid. p. 477] From this extreme poverty they rose to fortune under the Mughal patronage. Shaikh Zainu'ddin was appointed as *Sadr* by Bābur and Abul Waḥid occupied a seat among the court poets of Humāyūn.



- I. *Riyāz ul Inshā'*<sup>1</sup>: a treatise on the properties of simple and compound medicinal herbs and prescriptions, undertaken in 946 A.H., and on finish dedicated to Humāyūn.
- II. *Jāmi'ul Fawa'id'*<sup>2</sup>: a work on general medicine treating of their uses, benefits, and injuries, with certain guiding rules.
- III. *Qāṣida fī ḥifz i Sīhat*: a poem on the main principles of hygiene, dedicated to Bābur in 937 A. H., when he was not keeping good health
- IV. *Badār'ul Inshā*. a treatise on the art of literary composition, giving proper titles and forms of addresses in accordance with the rank and profession of the addressee. It was written in 940 A. H.,<sup>3</sup> for the benefit of his own son, Rafī'uddin Husain, as well as other youths in general. It has been lithographed at Lāhore, Delhi, and Lucknow.

<sup>1</sup> Add. 17955, B.M. MSS, foll. 79b, and 174a.

<sup>2</sup> Add. 28, 560, B M MSS foll. 262a—264b

NOTE —This is only an extract from the preceding work

<sup>3</sup> The date of its composition is obtained by doubling the total of the numerical value of the letters of its title, as hinted by the author in the following verse

تکرار کنی جو نام اورا یکبار \*      نہ کہ دہری ہاں اتمام

[Thus اتمام = 470, which on being doubled ( $470 \times 2 = 940$ ) gives the date of its composition]

He was the son of the famous scholar and poet of Babur a time khwāja Abul Barakat (still alive Fāwāja and patronised by Humāyūn) The father and the son both were capable poets and wrote all kinds of poetry including *ghazal* *maṣnawī* *rubāʿī* and *qasīda* The father used *Farāqī* as his pen name The following *qasīda* which he wrote after the manner and style of Salmān Sāvajī is one of his worthiest productions

تپ فم دارم و درد سر هکراں بر سر  
آمده حان لب و نامده حان بر سر  
تا گرفت آن دل در تن من حو نالوس  
دامم حال شد و چال گریبان بر سر

The fever of grief and the headache of  
separation have I ov'r head  
To the lip has come life and the loved hath  
not come ov'r head  
Since the fire of the heart caught light in my  
body like a candle lamp  
My skirt was torn and the rent of the collar  
appeared ov'r head

He combined with the sober poetic vein a considerable amount of humour and also wrote satires for which he had a pungent gift, on eminent theologians in a graceful and felicitous style Some of



Farishta pays him a high tribute of praise and declares that he came to Deccan after Humāyūn's death<sup>1</sup>

His son Khwāja Ayyūb in his poetical composition sometimes uses Ayyūb and sometimes Farūqī (the pen name of his father) as his *nom de guerre*. A specimen of his ode is as follows

اے ساق گل کہ صبح و شبی قد ک  
 در گرد لب خطے ز زمرد کسند  
 قدت برآمده خو الف مدخله  
 دور انرواں فراز الف مد ک  
 بر حرف دیگراں رخت قرعہ قبول  
 بر حرف عاشقانی قلم رد ک  
 از دولت وصال فراقی طمع منور  
 حور و حقای یار خو مد ک

O branch of the rose thou art drawn straight  
 like an erect stature

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the statement :

مواجه ایوانبرکت سرگشتی که آخر هر زمانه شاه ظاهر به ملک  
 آمده بود بر دنیا - و ندیمی مدید و نظیر نداهت -

[Farishta, Vol. I, p. 256.]

<sup>2</sup> Badā'uni Vol. I, p. 489

Round over thy lip thou hast drawn a line of  
emerald ;  
Thy stature has come out like '*alif*,' may its  
shadow increase,  
And from thy eyebrows thou hast drawn a  
*mad*' over that '*alif* ',  
Thou hast cast a dice of acceptance on the  
words of others,  
On the words of lovers thou hast drawn the  
pen of rejection ;  
O Farāqī, do not despair the boon of his  
union,  
Since thou hast suffered endless tyranny and  
oppression of the beloved.

Maulānā Muhammad bin 1 'Alī bin 1 Muhammad al Miskīnī al Qāzī as Samargandī, a man of considerable learning remained unnoticed by the Mughal historians, author of a distinguished Persian work entitled '*Jawāhir ul' Ulūm*' (or the pearls of Sciences) not published. It is a voluminous work covering 814 foll. (1,628 pages), of large foolscap size, closely written in neat elegant Arabic character. It is divided into several chapters and subdivisions, and treats of one hundred and twenty different subjects which are discussed under those headings with admirable brevity and simpleness of style. Some discussions are on history, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, logic, philosophy, ethics, and Muslim jurisprudence. The copyist is one Nūr Muhammad's son, 'Abdurrahmān of Lāhore. The date of compilation is contained in its very name.

which is inserted both in the Introduction and at the end and works out into 946 A H. The work is called *Humāyūnī* after the name of the emperor to whom, as it appears from the Preface this copy was formally presented. The author also incidentally hints at several works of his prior to this one and says as a reason for writing this book, that from his very boyhood till his mature age he was busy in acquiring knowledge under the best teachers of the age and having studied some rare works like *Nafā'is ul Funūn* ft *Arā'is ul Uyūn* *Sittin ul Āsūr* and *Hadā'iq ul Anwār*, he thought of putting together their contents as well as those of his previous works, in a smaller compilation. The work is therefore a sort of Encyclopedia which is a singular undertaking in that age and stands by itself.

The title page bears the seals of Shāh Jahān Sulaimān Jah Sultān Ālam and Shāh Ālam with several autographs of the librarians and private owners. These with the inscription of Sulaimān Jah's seal suggest that the book remained in the

1 Cf. the title and its working :

$$\begin{array}{rcl} \text{کتاب} & 20 + 400 + 10 + 2 & = 432 \\ \text{جواهر} & 3 + 8 + 1 + 5 + 200 & = 215 \\ \text{العلوم} & 1 + 30 + 70 + 30 + 6 + 40 & = 177 \\ \text{معارف} & 5 + 40 + 1 + 10 + 6 + 50 + 10 & = 122 \end{array}$$

کتاب جواهر العلوم - معارف

Total 946 A H.

Cf. the inscription in verse

عربی لیسہ ہر کتابتہ خدیجہ جاہ

ہر کتاب مزید در تفسیر ہماکہ

libraries of the kings of Delhi and Oudh Since the work is of peculiar interest, it would be of some value for a student of literary history to observe the style of its language, and the tone of the author's Preface and his address to the king, together with the subjects discussed, which in those days formed the main basis of learning and considered important from a scholar's standpoint

The first 3 folios are reproduced from the original as follows fol 1 b

کتاب حواہر العلوم  
 ص ۱۰۰ اللہ الرحمن الرحیم  
 و ۱۰۰ بالخطیر

فہمہ لقرین مہا و مہا حواہر علوم و تصنیفات مصنفات  
 فاضل و کاملہ بریں مہشورات نواند و ۱۰۰ و تالیفات مؤلفان  
 کامل کہ چہرہ فسادت نہار نو عروسان بغایس ہون  
 معقولہ و ۱۰۰ بلاغت دتار ریہایان عرابس میون مدقولہ  
 را نویزور و ۱۰۰ و ہریت کرامت مزین و ۱۰۰ و ۱۰۰  
 ہدایع صمد و ۱۰۰ و ۱۰۰ و ۱۰۰ و ۱۰۰ و ۱۰۰ و ۱۰۰  
 پان شاہی، اسے کہ دہام امور عالم و ادہام مہام  
 ہی آدم بود و دہام اس الہ و دہام پان شاہی، ۱۰۰ و ۱۰۰  
 شہریار اس شریعت ہرور مارت و مربوط ۱۰۰ و ۱۰۰  
 نویج امور شرع مقین و لواء دہام مہام دین را باوج  
 ۱۰۰ ہر بریں ہر افرا ۱۰۰ و ۱۰۰  
 زوج آدم ان نامرکز ۱۰۰ \* فہمہ دہام ۱۰۰ و ۱۰۰ و ۱۰۰

و نه هکایت لطایف صلوات و سرایف و طایف و ایت  
 و نه روضه آن خلاصه نه روضه کایات و زینت و نه  
 موجودات که بناسع علوم نه ج هلم از بحر معرفت  
 دانس او نظره ای نه و مصابیح معارف نه ج فضلا  
 از مساری آفتاب معرفتس نره و نه

مقتدای انسا سلطان دارا ایدین

سند اولاد آدم رحمه العالمین

و هر آل و احباب و احباب که ارکان دولت و دین  
 واعیان حضرت سیدک آله و سلین اند صلی الله علیه  
 و علی آله الی هادین و خادایه الرا دین و احباب  
 ایدین اما بعد حسن گوید بنده فقیر و نره  
 نه و الراجی من الله الحاکم الاندین معصدا فاضل من  
 علی بن محمد الی کتبی القاصی السمرقندی غفرالله  
 نقوبه و ستر نه که از ایام صفا تا مقام انتها  
 در نه فصلیل و کمالات می بود و از روایح نفایس  
 علماء زمان و نواهیح معالین فضلا دروان حظی تمام  
 ام می بود و بعد از تراغ مطالعه نفایس القنوں  
 فی هرایس العنوں و ستس الآثار و حدایق الانوار  
 و امی از نواهیح نه فضلا فصاحت شعار این مرم  
 حرم نه که خلاصه الفاظ حواهر آبدار و زینت مغاخر  
 معانی ابتکار آنها را مع نقود نواخر الحمار و حرف و نره  
 چند بی مقدار که ازین خاکسار نه اشتها دار نه مد



۱۰ امامت و انکار آرد نه فخر و شاکه مل بر ما و پیدار

علم نرتیه دهم و موضوع هر يك را برهان فارسي  
برسبیل اجتماعات باطنی و انسی قرتیه ادغام نماید  
بروای که همید خاص و عام و مستحقین جمیع طوایف  
انام باشد چون روی امید به کرم کریم حاوید کون و ذریعه  
اتقار و انکسار میانی آوردن لایزم از مددای دیاص علمی  
الاطلاق باو چون مردم استحقاق باقامه آن امر حایم مشرف  
شد و دادگاه آن بخل حسیم استوسع گشت و آنرا دخیوا  
العلوم ایونی موسوم گردانید و مساوات متذوعه آنرا

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

و صفت احتتام دان و جماعتی بے وساحتش را بطرار مدح  
 و صورت صاحبقران بطرز و ذات معصیت سماواتش را در تشریف  
 (fol. 2a) دما بر رت سلیمه انی معرر گردانید که با ماهر  
 حاکم ستمه مانوس مورد آثار دیویمات الهی است و باطن  
 فرخنده میانش میوه انوار الهامات ناطقدهی - تابع  
 الطیفش عارف معارف جمیع و سایل و کهالات و ذهن تشریفش  
 واقع مواضع جمیع معجزات و معقولات - همگی همیت عالی  
 دهنش برتقویم قوایم مله عرا و تشیید دعایم ثریه  
 دیبا معصون است و تمامی اوقات حاکم ستمه سادتش  
 در مراقبه حال مسایح بررگوار و دوشیبت مهم رانات  
 عالیقدر و رعایا - اهل اعلام و ترقیه امور قضاة اسلام  
 معرر انبی جم حاکم سلیمه ان دستگاه سکندر حاکم آبان

قلم جسد مقام خورشید حسام فریدون فر گدو مقرر  
 انکم - م کواکب خدم مهر مکان سپهر مکیں ملایک نساں  
 ارایک نسں صنع سیمای آفتاب رای ستاره درم دریا کرم  
 ناظم مناظم سرا فرای مقوی ارکان ملت داری معز السلطنة  
 والاختلافه صمد هما یوں پادشاه العازی  
 لک الله تعالی سرور "امام" علی الفلک

الرائع و البساط مملکت الی الاقلیم السانع  
 امیدواری بکمال کرم کردگاری انکه مستعدان مجلس  
 اشرف اعلی ارقام انس ادراک افادت انعام را بسرف قبول  
 مسرف سازند و "دور این احزای بلاعب فرجام را منظور  
 نظر اعتبار گردانیده برزلات م دراللسان نیندازند - و امام

خداوندا جو از "میں عنایت  
 بالطافی که انرا د عایت

کرم کردی ہیں توفیق تالیف  
 مرا دادی تو استعداد تصانیف

که تصانیف مرا مقبول گردان  
 بہرہ ۱ "۱" ستعبار "۱" دان

ہرری میں تیرے از فضل یکسا  
 خطا ہائے قلم را حقو فرما

## مقالہ ۱۰ - منقسم اسماء بکسب قسم قسم اول

در بیان شرف نام و تسمیہ اسماء - هر چند اثبات این  
دری و تحقیق این معنی احتیاج به کتب و تفسیر و احادیث  
دلایل و بیان دارند زیرا که جمیع طوایف امام و موم افرا  
می آدم و شرف اسماءات علم معترف اند و علم تسمیہ  
که آلات متناهی اما تیناً و بیگانه از آنچه در کتب  
و ادبی مذکور است و از احادیث و تفسیر مشهور و از  
ارباب نفوس قدسی مذکور گشته علی بن ابی طالب  
«... نامور و بزرگوار از قرآن مجید»

و فرقان «... نامور اسماء قال الله تعالى

هَلْ يَسْتَوِي الَّذِينَ يَعْلَمُونَ وَالَّذِينَ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ \* چه کسی  
استراشان ایمان بواسطه شرف علم و دقتان جهل  
است و مَلَأَ مَلَأَ مَلَأَ تَكُنْ تَعْلَمَ وَ كَانَ تَسْأَلُ اللَّهَ عِلْمَهُ \*  
حضرت عرت نامور و چندین هزار اطاف و اطاف که  
در حدیث و کتب معتبره و تفسیر و تفسیر و تفسیر و تفسیر  
منها ان لا تعلم ایهة واللہ و اطیعوا للہ و اولی الامر منکم \*  
اکثر معسران درین اسم که مراد از اولی الامر  
درین مقام عالمند یَرْفَعُ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنْكُمْ وَالَّذِينَ  
أَتَوْا الْعِلْمَ دَرَجَاتٍ \* چه اول و بعد گردانده درجه مومنان

را و بعد از آن فرمود که درجات مر اهل علم راست و ازین  
 جا لازم آید که درجات اهل علم از درجات دیگران برتر  
 بود و آنچه در این مذکور است از مقایسه این با آن  
 منقول است که **حق تعالی فرموده است** که یا  
 عظیم الامم و اعرف الامم فانی الله عنهم علی  
 حسانی الا الایمان والرحمة کفضل الله علی  
 الکواکب و کفضل الآخرة علی الدنيا و کفضل  
 کُل شیء بمعنی ما عظیم الامم کن تو علما را و  
 پس این اب ایسان را در حدیثی که من ترجمه  
 کرده ام ایشانرا بر ح خلق خود مگر دنیا و  
 دین را بر سر و فضل ایسان مثل فضل و شرف  
 آفتاب بر کواکب و مثل فضل و شرف آخرت است بر  
 دنیا و مثل فضل و شرف من است بر تمام الملوکات  
 و آنچه در احادیث مذکور است، قال  
 علیه السلام الناس عالم او عالم و سائر الناس  
 کاا ح لا خیر فیهم یعنی مراد از انسان یا عالم است  
 یا عالم و بانی مردمان خوب مگر اندک که در ایشان  
 نیکوتر است و قوله علیه السلام انکم ادب الناس  
 من درجة النوبة (fol 2b) اهل العلم و الصلوة یعنی از  
 مردمان نیکوتر بدرجه نوبت اهل علم و اهل جهاد اند

و قَوْلُهُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مَبْدُؤُا الْعَالَمِ عَلَى الْعَادَةِ كَمَا هُوَ عَلَى  
 عَلَى ادْبِی کَم مَرْدَه - عالم بر عادت چون مریقه مست بر  
 ادبای سما قَوْلُهُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ یَسْمَعُ یَوْمَ  
 الْقِيَامَةِ سَلَامَةَ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ بِمِثْلِ الْعِلْمَاءِ قَمِ السَّهْبَاءِ - یعنی در روز  
 قیامت خلق راسه طایفه سحابی که منده باشد انبیا  
 و اهل اهل و شهدا و قَوْلُهُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مَنْ صَلَّى حَقًّا  
 عَالِمٍ مِنَ الْعُلَمَاءِ فَكَأَنَّهُ صَلَّى حَقًّا بِنَبِيِّ مِنَ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ  
 یعنی هر که ده ار گذارد در حق عالمی از اهل اگویا ده ار  
 گذارده است در حق نبی و مراد بهشبران قَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ  
 مَبْدُؤُا الْعَالَمِ مَا يَحْتَاجُ النَّاسُ إِلَيْهِ - یعنی اصل مردم آن  
 عالم است که احتیاج مردمان بدان نبیست در  
 در نواب الفتاوی آورد که پیدغامبر مرموده  
 صلی الله علیه وسلم هر عالمی که دنده مومنی را عالم  
 دیامورد حق سبحانه و تعالی در روز قیامت هزار قلاده  
 از نواب گردن او کند و درماید فرشتگان را تا نواب مذ  
 از در او دعدن هر موئی که برین او بود ثواب حج  
 اکبر و هر که یک نواب از عالم دیامورد اگر چه یک حلیه  
 باشد حق تعالی ثواب هفتاد و نه هزاران نواب ارزایی  
 دارد و هر که یک نواب از عالم دسود چنان باشد که  
 دنده او که قیامت آن هزار دیمار است آزاد کرده نواب

و باز حمد و است عز که در راه طلب علم عباری  
بر نده او سیند حق تعالی ندن او را از انس و زم  
نگاه دارن و بیز آمده است که حق سبحانه و  
تعالی کوچه آورده است مقدار دنیا و فردای امام  
جهل بار در ترازوی نهاده سون کسی که جهت علم  
دوای مزالوے ادب پس عالمی نسبه باشد و نیز  
در حمد و است که عز که یک روز در طلب علم گذارن  
برند که حق تعالی بهتر باشد از عبادت هزار ساله و در  
دوای العتاقی آوردن است که هر که یک روز در  
طلب علم صرف کند خفاں باشد که مقدار کوه  
است پس زر در راه حق تعالی صرف نموده باشد تسمی و  
در بیان تعریف و قیاس جمیع افراد علوم معقوله  
و توصیف تمامی انواع فروع معقوله - بدان که علم  
بجسب استرال لفظی بچند معنی مستعمل است گاهی  
معنی صفتی بود که مراد ب تفسیر گردد و باین معنی  
علم از قسمل معقوله کتب باشد و گاهی معنی مصدری  
و معنی حالت آید و باین تقدیر از قسمل معقوله  
مضاف بود و قیاس معنی - در صورت حقی در عقل  
آید و باین اعتبار از معقوله افعال باشد و گاهی  
بمعنی اعتقاد حازم مطابق ثابت و گاهی معنی حکم  
بوقوع نسبت و باین دو تقدیر از معقوله فعل است و  
گاهی بر چند تصدیق اطلاق نمایند از مسایل که

راجع باشند آنها در مورد موضوع واحد چنانچه علم  
 فقه و علم طب و علم فقه و امثال آن و این را  
 مناسبت نامند و علم الهی مناسبت دو نوع است  
 حکمت و ادب، حکمت آدست که در علم او تکمیل  
 آمده و جمیع اقوام علی السویه باشند چون علم  
 الهی و علم هیئت - و ادب آدست که نه در همه از اقوام و  
 از همه متصرف باشند چون علم نجوم و صرف که مدعی  
 بر قوانین عربیه است نه بر قوانین اهل فارس و علم  
 حکمت دو نوع است اولی حکمت فاعلی و حکمت نظری - و  
 حکمت فاعلی نظری در مقاصد از دستن چیزها چنانچه باید  
 و حکمت فاعلی در عمل آوردن چیزهاست چنانچه باید  
 در هر طایفه نظری - حکمت فاعلی سه قسم است اولی  
 و اولی و اعلی و این سه قسم مشتمل بر چهارده علم  
 است چنانکه هر يك مذکور میشود **اول علم اعلی**  
 که موضوع او در خارج و ذهن و غیر ماده است چون  
 معرفت الهی و عقول و نفوس و وحدت و کثرت و مابین  
 آن و اصول این علم در دو قسم است معرفت الهی و مبادی  
 مخلوقات از عقول و نفوس و این قسم اول را علم  
 الهی مدعی الهیات خوانند و معرفت امور عامه چون  
 معرفت وحدت و حدود و قدوم و امثال آن و این قسم دوم  
 را علم فاعلی اولی نامند **دوم علم اوسلی مدعی**  
 علم ریاضی (fol 3a, begins on page 89)





علم معادن گویند و معرفت اسام نامیده و قوای آن چون  
 کیفیت مکه کی بیخ ها در زمین و برآمدن قوایم آن  
 در هوا و درازی و کوتاهی و کجی و راستی شایه های و صورت  
 برگها و کیهیات در بارش و وودها و مانند آن را علم  
 نباتات خوانند و معرفت احوال اسام متحرکه و حرکت  
 ارانی و مدادی حرکات و قوای ایشان چون معرفت وحوش  
 و مایور و کیهیات اسباب و آورده و شرافین و اختلاف صور  
 و حیرانات و منازعت طمایع و امریه و مدایع اخلاق و احوال  
 و نواع آنرا علم نباتات نامند و معرفت احوال  
 فنیس فاطقه انسانی و چگونگی تدبیر و تصرف چون  
 کیهیات روح و بودن او داخل در بدن یا خارج یا مکیه ماده بدن  
 یا زمین یا عرض یا دهر یا جسم و امثال آنرا علم نفس  
 نامند و آنرا که در علم اولی چهار قسم است  
 که اولی یعنی علم اخلاق که تاصلاح  
 هر شخص تعلق دارد که در منزلت یعنی علم معاش  
 که در علم محاسن و محاسر و  
 که در علم بلاغی یعنی علم آداب مازک و این چهار  
 قسم مدلول بر چهارده علم است و علم ادب نیز مدلول  
 است بر چهارده علم و علم مداطره و علم مدطق  
 را نیز داخل ادبیات دانسته اند چنانچه مذکور  
 مزاهد شد علم دین و نوع است علم احکام

دین و علم حکم همین - علم احکام دین دو نوع است - علم احکام عملیه و علم احکام اعتقادی - علم احکام ۱. با ظاهر تعلق دارد یا باطن - علم احکامه که تعلق با ظاهر دارد علم فقه است و علم احکام ۲. که تعلق باطن دارد علم تصوف است و علم احکام اعتقادی اگر موافق قوانین سربست غرض باشد علم کلام است و علم حکم سه نوع است علم ۱. در علم حدیث و علم اصول فقه و اساسی شروع هر یک از علوم دینی و ۲. و ادبی نه تمام در فهرست این ۱. سعادت انعام مذکور است و ۲. در و الله اعلم و ۳. اشیای الامور قسم سوم از مقایسه در میان تعداد ابواب و فهرست این کتاب ۴. در از فصل کرم هم الهی و فصل نعم ۵. نامتناهی این بند ۶. بتدریس و تالیف این و ۷. کلوز علوم و آداب و ۸. در فنون اهل فضل و خطاط اعلی ۹. و کمالات انسانی و ۱۰. سعادات اهل معانی صرف سد علوانات متلوه آنرا هر طایفه ۱۱. مرامات ۱۲. در علم نظام ۱۳. در نظام ۱۴. گردانند و مقالات ۱۵. در این و ۱۶. در این مرامات مذکوره سعادت اتمام فرموده انعام رسانند بعد از آن قسم اول از مقاله اوای از کتاب fol 8 b جواهرالعلوم باب ۱ در علم خط باب ۲ در علم انسا باب ۳ در علم سحر باب ۴ در علم قایده باب ۵

در علم مروض باب ۱۰۶ در علم معانی و دل و معنیات

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شعری و اظهار و سر باب ۸۱ در علم اطایف و مطایبات

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تعداد این قسم دوم از مقاله اول از کتاب

جواهر العلوم

باب ۱ در علم قصص الانبیاء باب ۲ در معرفت

تاریخ ملوک فارس که قبل از عهد دیناورد سلطنت

بوده اند باب ۳ در علم سیرالنبی و دیان معجزات

و ذکر معراج باب ۴ در معرفت وائعات و غزوات  
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تاریخ سلاطین که بعد از ائمه بوده اند تا  
مهدیندگان - حضرت صا - در آن باب ۷ در معرفت  
تاریخ پندگن حضرت صا - در آن و اولاد و احفاد  
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و در علم کبیر و صغیر و جلیب و حرص - آنها در دین  
 و دین و سایر فائده در علامات قیامت و احوال آخرت -  
 باد . اول از قسم اول از مقاله اول از کتاب .  
 جواهر العلوم - در بیان علم نهضت مشتمل بر شش  
 فصل - فصل اول در تعریف و اقسام و ادوات  
 و اقسام از معرفت تصویر کلمات و تعریف ترکیبات از  
 حروف مهمله و اصول تهج و کیفیت سماع و اوصاف آن  
 نامتعارف و کلمات و صفات و این معتقد است که حروف  
 تراکیب عرایش معانی کثر مرادات و وجهانی  
 .....

In the abovequoted preface of the author several points are of special interest, of which the following deserve notice -

1. The work was the greatest and most important literary undertaking in Humāyūn's reign.
2. The author's idea of writing an Encyclopædia in that age, with the object of presenting it to a Mughal emperor in India, and not to any other Eastern monarch of a neighbouring country, is significant, and throws ample light on the literary taste of, and patronage shown by, the Mughal rulers
3. The then prevailing system of writing chapters and headings in red ink, with



FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE PAGE OF  
"JAWĀHİR UL ULŪM HUMĀYŪNĪ"  
[Author's family possession]



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HUMAYUN]

the number of page indicated on the w, of each in black ink, is somewhat peculiar though at the same time very simple (*vide facs* of fol 3b)

4. The exceptional command and patience of a copyist to write out such a voluminous work in absolutely one hand and one style from the beginning to the end with distinctive accuracy elegance and neatness, is an important feature of the time and shows the height of excellence achieved in the art of calligraphy. Also their mode of crossing and correcting mistakes by enclosing the rejected portion with  $\text{}$  inserted in the beginning and  $\text{}$  at the end is indicated in *facs.* fol 1b
5. The subjects discussed in the work constituted *علوم معاشیه* (current sciences) which were commonly taught in the educational institutions in those days and formed the main basis of learning
6. Arabic characters were generally employed in writing books of Persian language, and specially in literary and scientific books. Even the poetical works of stand ard poets were all written in *naskh* (Arabic characters) while Persian characters (*nasta liq*) were more commonly used in works of less important character and light literature such as State documents, foreign correspondence, *firmāns* and official and private letters.

The reason of composition is given by the author in the following words :

و در همه - آلات و - اشیاء و اوقات و محاسن و معانی  
 قیام مینموده پس مخاطرات این خطور کرد که قیام و  
 تبرکات - آلات و معاملات را بطریق یادداشت و تدوین  
 فرمایم..... تذکره ده اید

And in all circumstances and at all times he had stayed in the service of his Majesty, so it occurred to his mind that he should record, as a memorandum and a boon and a blessing, the events and anecdotes, according to his own intellectual capacity.

He entered Humāyūn's service as an ewer-bearer at a very young age, and attended him  
 Jauhar faithfully during his reverses and flight from Hindūstān. Though not a very learned man, he is the author of a very important work which is of special historical value as being a faithful and unbroken record of Humāyūn's private life during his exile. It was undertaken long after Humāyūn's death in the year 995 A.H.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid, fol 2a

<sup>2</sup> Tazkirat ul Waqī'āt, B.M MSS Add 16, 711, fol 2b A copy of this work (inferior to the B M Codex) is also in the I O Library

For a critical estimate of Jauhar see Raverty's article in the J R A S.

A summary of its contents is given below

- I Humāyūn's fight with Sultān Bahādūr Gujarātī and the conquest of Gujarāt.
- II His contests with Sher Shāh and temporary victory and occupation of Bengal.
- III Subsequent attack by Sher Shāh and Humāyūn's defeat, his pluck while crossing the river, help given by a water-carrier who was afterwards made to sit on the royal throne at Āgra for half a day (*du sū at*)<sup>1</sup> in reward for his signal service.

<sup>1</sup> A *sū at* ساعت should not be understood in the strict sense of an hour. The day was then divided, as it is now into four *sū at* or *gharī* (also known as *pār* or *paḥr*). Gulbadan Begam calls these *dī lāḥas* by the last name Cf. —

تو سے پھر شب معلیٰ ہو .. بعد از سے پھر <sup>۲</sup> رات آجی  
نرسوند

[Humāyūn Nāma, p. 37]

These *dī lāḥas* of time were essentially Indian and had puzzled Bābur greatly. The above statement that the day was divided into four *sū at* is supported by Farishtā also, who, in this instance interprets *du sū at* into half a day. Cf. —

و بعد از رسد کہ پادشاهی لیسروز را بعد از ، یار باگرا ہو  
ایزانی غلام چنانچہ میان قسم قسم آمد  
[Farishtā, Vol. I, p. 407]

It may however be noted that Gulbadan Begam differs from both Janhar and Farishtā, and declares that the *malik* sat on the throne for two days. Cf. —

تو دو روز پری لاکم پادشاهی دادند  
[Humāyūn Nāma, p. 44]

*sū at* also means a watch.

IV. Humāyūn's further reverses due to the hostile attitude of his brothers.

V. His flight to Persia; reception by Shāh Tahmāsp, the latter's evil designs against Humāyūn, and their aversion through the timely intervention of Bahrām Mīrzā's sister; help given to Humāyūn by the Shāh; conquest of Cābul; recruitment of soldiers for the attack on Hindūstān; death of Shēr Shāh, Humāyūn's entry into Āgra.

VI. His last days and death by an accidental fall from the staircase of his palace at Delhi.

The style is generally simple and unadorned though, at places he has, in conformity with the practice of the times, indulged into rhetorical expressions, probably to make a display of his knowledge, and inserted various quotations from the Qur'ān and the works of Persian poets

Like Jauhar, he too was in the retinue of Humāyūn during the latter's flight from Hindūstān, and wrote a work entitled '*Tārīkh i Humāyūn*' at the request of Akbar.

BA Yazid

The author's own version as to this undertaking is as follows

چون ہم حلال الدین کے اکبر بادشاہ  
فرمودند ار دندھا درگاہ ہریہ را کہ ملیۃ تاریخ

11 MAY 1977

ہاسد نوبسند ملکہ از ایام سلطنت حضرت حلب آسانی  
 ہمایوں ہادسہ اگر کہے را در خاطر حضرت ماندہ  
 ہاسد دوران طرح نمایند و مقام نامی ما تمام سازند و این  
 سیم معارف بہ منحرف ہے مضامین سیم امور الفضل ولد  
 -

Since Jalāluddin Muhammad Akbar Padishāh of Jamshīd's dignity said, 'Every one from among the servants of the court who possess an aptitude for history may write it nay from the reign of Humāyūn Padishāh if any one has any events in his recollection they (he) may insert them therein (history) and conclude it in my Majesty's name And this royal mandate was conveyed to humble Bā Yazīd by Nawāb Shāikh ul Mashāikh Shāikh Abul Fazl son of Shāikh Mubārak.

The work is almost similar to Jauhar's in diction and style and is full of many interesting incidents of Humāyūn's and Akbar's private lives. It was undertaken at Lahore in the year 999 A H when the author was feeling the infirmity of old age.' A most important piece of information contained in the work is the list of scholars and sundry notable officers who accompanied Humāyūn from

- Cf. the statement:

د جون ایام جوانی گفتہ و ایام پیری ہراسہ برہ و حافظ را کہ  
 [Ibid.] الخ

Persia, Cābul, and other territories, on his way back to Hindūstān.<sup>1</sup>

His real name was Shaikh Nizām. He entered Humāyūn's service on his second entry into Hindūstān.

He is said to be an excellent poet of Humāyūn's court, and wrote several 'masnawis' and 'qasā'id' of which some he dedicated to the emperor. He died at an advanced age in 1003 A.H., and the chronogram of his death was found by one Nawāb Mubārak Khān of Delhi in the words 'اَهِ اَهِ نِزَامِ' (*āh āh Nizām*). It is a happy coincidence that a poet of the same name also lived at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī, and was reckoned among the leading poets of his day. Besides his numerous 'qasā'id' in praise of the Shāh, a custom which very curiously prevailed both in India and Persia, and was a common feature of the two courts, he wrote several 'masnawis' of which the following were well-known :

- (i) *Wāmīq wa 'azrā*.
- (ii) *Nāz wa Niyāz*
- (iii) *Afsāna i Bahār wa Khizān*
- (iv) *Lailā wa Majnūn* (also called "sar guzasht i Majnūn")
- (v) *Jannat ul Akhyār*
- (vi) *Sikandar Nāma*.

He also left two 'dīwāns' entitled 'sahā'if i 'amal' and 'Iqd i la'ālī,' consisting mostly of 'qasā'id' in praise of the Shāh, and 'ghazal' and 'rubā'i' in

<sup>1</sup> Ibid, fols 72b—76a

praise of his beloved and on the transitoriness of this world and its vanities. He died in Persia thirty years before his namesake in India.

He was a descendant of Shaikh Ruknuddin Alauddaula Samnāni and a pupil of Maulānā Isām uddin in logic and philosophy and of <sup>Khawaja</sup> <sup>Humayn Neri</sup> the famous Traditionalist Shaikh Ibn I Hajar II in traditions and theology. As a poet of Persian language he compiled a *diwān* and is mentioned by Abul Fāz and Badāʿunī (both of whom derived their material from *Asfa-us-salāṣ*) as one of the poets of Akbar's reign. Bā Yāzid however mentions the Khawaja under Humāyūn as one of his constant associates.\* Some specimens of his poetry which is full of subtleties peculiar to India are as follows

اے از مرے تو آب رفتہ  
و ز نبدۂ خیال و خواب رفتہ

O thou without thee from my eye-lash the  
water flowed  
And from the eye the thought and the sleep  
departed

\* See the list of scholars who accompanied Humāyūn on his second entry into Hindostān (Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn, 10 MSS., fol.74a) Also cf. fol. 74b —

میر عبدالغنی و خواجہ حسام مری و خواجہ ایوب و ابوالبرک  
ابن جامعہ کہ اہل لغت بودند الم

\* Badāʿunī Vol III p 177



۱. خون را با چندانکه مدوی نمودند  
افسوس آنچه مانده بودنی نمودند

Thou hast shown thyself to us in the form  
that was not thine,  
Alas, the manner in which thou hast shown  
thyself thou wast not

۲ ما ما گره چو سحر در آبرو مکنده  
 ما سحر آید چو هسته اندان کنوده  
 In association with us thou hast cast a knot,  
 like a bud, in thy eye-brow,  
 In company with others thou hast opened the  
 lip like a smiling pistachio.

I am such that the dominion of speech is my  
property,  
The banker of Wisdom is the tester of my  
string of pearls ;  
The preface of *Existence* is a leaf from my  
book,  
The secrets of both the worlds are on the  
point of my pen.

He wrote a versified translation of the famous Hindi work '*Saṅghāsan Battisi*' entrusted to his care

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

\* Ibid.

\* Ibid.

by Akbar. It remained unfinished when he left India in 980 A H. for Cābul where he died soon after. His poetic powers and erudition may well be judged by the fact that Faizi was his pupil and was brought up and trained by him. When the Khwāja took leave for Cābul, Faizi found the date of this event in the words 'دام الله' which are used for no less respectable a person than one's father or guardian. One of his marvellous compositions is a *qasida* which he wrote and presented to Akbar on the occasion of Jahāngir's birth in 977 A H. It was considered as a masterpiece of surpassing skill ever designed by any one before him. The author himself seemed proud of its production and challenged his colleagues (in the 13th verse) saying that no one from among the court poets could bring as a present anything better than that. It is so arranged throughout that the first hemistich of every line gives the year of Akbar's accession to the throne while the second does that of Jahāngir's birth. This shows the progress made in the art of chronogram so ardently taken up under the Mughal patronage.

للهالکون از به حاکم و جلال شهر یار  
گوهر من از - - - عدل آمد در کنار

<sup>1</sup> Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p. 248

NOTE.—The same with a high tribute of praise has been produced by Jahāngir with slight additions, in his *Tuzuk*, p. 2. Allahabad, 1864. Cf. his remark

اما خواجه حسن مروری از قوت طبع و حکمت بهم نصیحت کند که  
کلامه سلطانیه توانم -

ملاتر - از آشیان - راه و چون آمد فرو  
 کوکبی از اوج عروبار گردید آشکار  
 گلشنی ایمنگونه دزدیدند در دور جوی  
 لاله ریمنگونه نکرده از میان لاله راز  
 شاه شد دلها که باران آردان دل و داند  
 بار دنیا رنده شد کرم مهر ایام بهار  
 آن هلال درج قدر و چون و حال آمد برون  
 و آن بهال آرد - آن نراه آمد بهار  
 شاه اقامت و ما سلطان ایوان صفای  
 شمع - مع دیدلان کام دل امیدوار  
 عادل کامل معبود اکبر صاحبزادان  
 پادشاه نامدار کام - و کامگار  
 کامل دانا - قابل عدل شاهان مدبر  
 عادل اعلا - عاقل دینمدیل روزگار  
 مایه اطاعت اله آن لایق تاج و تکیس  
 پادشاه دین پناه آن عادل عالم مدار  
 مجلس ویرا - عالم چارمین دان - و در  
 موک - ویرا - اک راجع آمد نیر - دار  
 نیر برج و - و - گوهر دریا - و -  
 از - راز - اوج دلها شاه باز و - آن - آشکار  
 پادشاهها - ملک لولوی - نفیس آورده ام  
 هدیه کان گرامی باز - دریا - گوشه دار



perhaps the first instance in the literary history of the Mughals in India that the idea of writing an epic poem on the lines of Firdausi's *Shāh Nāma* and to idolise his hero, struck to a poet of Humāyūn's court. It is a valuable historical narrative of Humāyūn's and his predecessors' battles and conquests which are described in a language sufficiently worthy of the theme. A summary of its contents is as follows:

- I. Timūr's successors up to Humāyūn.
- II. Bābur's expedition to India, and his victory over Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī at Pānīpat.
- III. Bābur's illness. News carried to Humāyūn and his hurrying to Āgrā. Bābur's declaration of his successor in Humāyūn, and his death.
- IV. Humāyūn's coronation followed by a general feast. Great rejoicing in the country. Rich gifts given, and robes of honour conferred.
- V. His battles with Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī and Shēr Shāh. The latter's counter-attack and Humāyūn's defeat and flight across Sindh. Birth of Akbar at 'Umarkōt.
- VI. His activities in Turkistān, Qandhār, and Cābul. His fight with Kāmran. Defeat and pardon of the latter.
- VII. Humāyūn's taste for astrology and his prophecy regarding Akbar's future greatness.

VIII His second expedition to Hindūstān His battles with the Afghāns and Sikandar Humāyūn's victory and accession to the throne.

The author has at places imitated Firdausi so closely in loftiness of expression beauty of language and daintiness of similes that it is sometimes hard to distinguish which is which. He must be a great poet indeed from among the very best poets of Humāyūn's or Akbar's reign.<sup>1</sup> Some of his lines by way of sample are quoted below from the B. M. codex —

Lines on Humāyūn's communication and fight with Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī —

وایم ز دانا دلے هوشمند  
که عاقل نصواهد بکس ناپند  
ووصاً باقوام و خویش و تنار  
که آسان ایشان بود تنگ و عار

<sup>1</sup> Shibli on the alleged authorship of *Badāʾunī* states that Nazrī, the famous lyric poet of Akbar's reign, had undertaken to write an epic poem entitled *Shāh Nāma* i Humāyūnī, which remained unfinished, at the suggestion of Bairām Khān [Shi'r-ul-Ajam, Vol. III, p. 4].

I was unable to discover the reference in *Badāʾunī*, under both Nazrī and Bairām Khān. Shibli has evidently confused Nazrī, with Muzrī, a less important poet, who, according to *Badāʾunī* had undertaken the task [Vide Vol. III, pp. 340-41]. *Badāʾunī* has also quoted one verse as sample which I could not find in the B. M. codex.

همایون عزت شعار  
 بی خواست عاری بهوش و آزار  
 مرستان در بهادر پیام  
 که نادان ترا میش و عزت مدام  
 بهرمانروائی ندی رفراز  
 بخت و بدست شاه دمای باراز  
 یقین دهی از شکر امروں شود  
 در ناشکری از دهر و زروں شود  
 اگر در سویدی ز فرمانداری  
 تو بینی رانجام ایس داری  
 من از من امان کردم پیام  
 تو دانی دگر بعد ازین و الام  
 بهادر جو این نامه را کرد گوش  
 در آمد چو فایده دانا در خوش  
 مکتب ادبش نویس این جواب  
 که آتش فروزن ز دریا آب  
 چو فارغ شد از عرضان رحمة داشت  
 در دوزخ زمان تمام ادب بار کاست  
 بهادر جو بهار مستی دود  
 دما گفتنیها زبان مرگ نمود  
 بهرمان شاه زمین و زمان  
 جهانی دادی او شد روان





چو ايسم اريس چرخ ديلاو فري  
 نه عسکر بها ماند و نه مسکری  
 و ليکن نه قلعه در آمد سراغ  
 دل واق را ، رفعت ماند داغ  
 چو قلعه هاں ترک ، سرکش فتاد  
 فرد گفت ، در قلعه آتش فتاد  
 ولے آسمان آتشے برفروفت  
 که ماند دل دوزخ ، دوزخ  
 دساں خريزه دفينه تمام  
 شدي مجلس آرا ، هر حراص و عام  
 خريزه مرادات ، مان شد ، غراب  
 زر "رح هر ، د دواں چرں شراب

## CHAPTER IV

The greater part of Humāyūn's reign was unsettled and chequered with misfortunes and exiles. The extent of progress made by Urdū in his reign is hardly ascertainable due to the scantiness of material but there could be no doubt that the same was progressing steadily in the whole of Upper Hindūstān including the Punjab and the Gujarāt. The appearance of Hindi Persian poets in increasing numbers is a good testimony of the gradual hold of Hindi over Persian, and their mutual growth and free play with each other. An evidence of same is to be found in the talk of a parrot which was captured by Humāyūn in his fight with Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī. When Humāyūn led an attack on Mālwa in 942 A H Sultān Bahādur better known as Bahādur Shāh at the advice of his faithless General Rūmī Khān unwisely took refuge in the fort outside the city. Instead of meeting his enemy face to face in battle. The siege lasted for several weeks till at last Humāyūn's officers who had secretly won over Rūmī Khān to their side began to intercept the supplies of food sent to Bahādur Shāh which weakened the position of the besieged a great deal. In addition to this treachery Rūmī Khān one night caused his men to set fire to the royal magazine and this was followed by an attack from Humāyūn's troops who eventually entered the fort unmolested. Thus Bahādur Shāh was overcome

and fled to Gujarāt for his life. He had a favourite bird—a tūti which repeated what it heard like a human being. When it was brought to Humāyūn in the open court, Rūmī Khān also was invited by the king to be present. On Rūmī Khān's entering the court, Humāyūn courteously said, "خوش بیاید رومی خان" (welcome Rūmī Khān). The bird hearing his name screamed aloud "پاپی رومی خان، پاپی رومی خان، پاپی رومی خان" (Tut Rūmī Khān, sinner, untrue to salt, tut sinner, untrue to salt). All amazed, and Humāyūn said :

چکنم رومی خان حریف، که جاسور است، راوار  
 نه زبانش از دهانش بر می کندم -

What can I do Rūmī Khān, alas, it is a bird, otherwise I would have pulled its tongue from its mouth.

The speech of the bird is a curious combination of Hindī, Persian and Arabic words, systematically arranged and put in a sentence.<sup>1</sup> This is perhaps the best example of Urdū that could be traced in the reign of Humāyūn, and serves to show how people were accustomed to talk in their homes and on private occasions. Of the many

<sup>1</sup> Mir'ātī Sikandarī MSS, dated 1087 A H, fol 107a

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, fol 108b

<sup>3</sup> Ibid

<sup>4</sup> *Phit* and *Pāpī* are Hindī, and *namak* Persian, compounded with *harām*, Arabic. Also cf. a similar instance of a parrot speaking Persian cited under Bābur [Supra, p 76]

poets cited under Humāyūn Badaūni has referred to some who composed both in Hindi and Persian. On the same authority we learn that their hybrid composition had found complete favour with the gentry and on several occasions sung before Humāyūn. Thus the already

existing relations between Hindi and Persian had drawn closer and more friendly under Humāyūn than under Bābur. Both the Hindūs and the Muslims now appear to have publicly given up their prejudices not only in the cultivation but also in the use of each other's literature. The Muslims though from the very beginning showed no such bias in the acquisition of Hindi language, yet they had not taken to do it so freely as they did now. The Hindūs too in their turn owing to their unavoidable social and political relations with the Muslims were doing the same. The Rājput Princes and the Hindū Rājās for holding necessary communications with the Muslim conquerors kept at their courts a special staff well-equipped to deal with the original Persian documents. In certain cases where the papers were of a confidential nature, the Rājās themselves used to attend to them. Similarly the Muslims behaved and kept a competent staff

Faked Hindi letters of Rājās to Shēr Shāh, and their supposed replies in Persian from the latter ready at hand to cope with Hindi correspondence. A good instance of the Rājās writing to Shēr Shāh fictitious letters in Hindi with their forged replies in Persian which were purposely

A definite and made by Urdu under Hindu Muslim cultivation of each other's literature.

thrown in the way of Rājā Māldeo, as a trap, and picked up and read by the latter personally, is to be found in the following.—

‘راحہا فرصہ، یافتہ ہوں شیر شاہ آمدند و دشواری  
 شیر شاہ کتابت از زبان امرا مالدیو دیکھتے ہوئے  
 شیر شاہ نوشتند کہ ما ہمار ضرورت تریں مدت  
 اطاعت مالدیو میگردیم۔۔۔ ہرگاہ کہ ہمار اثر اسلام  
 نزدیک ہرسد ما از راحہ مالدیو جدا شدہ ہو کہ  
 عالی مقام میگردیم و موقوف ہواں مکاتیب۔۔۔ شیر از  
 زبان شیر شاہ نوشتند کہ ایشاعالہ تعالیٰ بعد از فتح  
 و غارتہ مالدیو ہمارا مرز و مکرم داشتہ ہمیع اقباغ  
 موروثی آبا و اجداد ہمارا اسرارانی میدارم۔۔۔ پس  
 آن کتابت مرور را بلطایہ الہیل بداد مالدیو  
 ادا کنند و مالدیو کہ شہینہ ارجمینداران و امرا  
 ہون اندیشہ و خدمتہ در خاطر داشتہ از ہمالہ  
 مکاتیب ہراساں شدہ۔۔۔ و کونہا و دیگر امرا  
 او ہر چند، شہید گردند و ہمدیہان۔

The Rājās obtaining opportunity came to Shēr Shāh, and in consultation with him wrote letters to him from the tongue of the *Umarā* of Māldeo in Hindī script, saying, “We through necessity did homage to Māldeo up till now. When the victorious army of Islām will reach near, we, having separated ourselves from Rājā Māldeo, will join your

Majesty's forces. And in accordance with these letters they also wrote from the tongue of Shēr Shāh stating God willing after our victory and subjection of Māldeo I will hold you in honour and esteem and will reinstate you in all your ancestral possessions. Thereafter they made those false letters fall through clever devices into the hands of Māldeo. And Māldeo who always entertained fear and anxiety in his heart against his Zamindārs and *Umārā* got terrified on perusing those letters and Kūnhaiyū and other nobles however much they counselled him it proved of no avail.

As a result of this harmony and interalliance  
 Growth of Muslim poets of Hindi language on the one hand and Hindū writers of Persian on the other sprang up in ever so large numbers under the patronage of the later Mughal emperors.

During Humāyūn's absence from India the same feature prevailed in the reign of Shēr Shāh and the number of such poets as composed both in Hindi and Persian kept multiplying. The Muslim interest in Hindi literature under Shēr Shāh is evidently more marked than before due perhaps to his own predilections for Hindi. The appearance of a renowned poet of Hindi language Malik Muhammad Jāisi, who is described under Shēr Shāh marks a new era in the history of Muslim lore in India. It is a notable

departure from the old customary traditions of mixing Hindi with Persian, for his poems were composed in terse Hindi almost to the exclusion of Persian vocabulary.



SHER SHAH SEATED ON HIS THRONE

[From an album of Pathán kings]





## CHAPTER V

A portion of the period of Humāyūn's rule is covered by Sher Shāh who held undisputed sway of Hindūstān for five years during Humāyūn's exile. His real name was Farid and his title Sher Shāh which was conferred upon him by Sultān Muhammad ruler of Behār due to the extraordinary valour shown by Farid in killing a tiger. On his defeating Humāyūn and ascending the throne at Delhi he changed Sher Shāh into Sher Shāh. His grandfather Ibrāhīm Sūr had come down to India from Afghanistan in the reign of Sultān Bahādur Lōdī and served under him in various capacities. After Ibrāhīm's death his son Hasan Sūr took service under Jamāl Khān an influential noble of Sikandar Lōdī's court and received as jagir the important parganās of Saharūn and Khawaspūr which remained for long a bone of contention between Farid and his brothers.

In his early youth he had left his home through domestic unpleasantness for Jaunpūr where he busied himself in the pursuit of knowledge and acquired a taste for history and literature. He studied Arabic grammar up to *Kāfiya* and sundry works of Persian poets like Sadi and Nizami.

Sher Shāh  
his name and  
parentage

His literary  
attainment  
and patronage  
of letters.

فرید دقت‌زیب نامهربانی پدر و خصومت برادران  
 جدا شده برك نوکری به ال‌خان دوده چاندگاه در به‌وسور  
 به تحصیل علوم و کتب‌الالاء میگزراید تا آنکه  
 کتاب کافیه را با حواشی و دیگر متضامرات خواند و  
 از کتب روان‌گفته‌ان و بوستان و سکندرنامه و مدائن  
 دیر استقامت‌ساز گزید و نیز ارمون و وانی و مدارس گشته  
 در صحیفه امام و مشایخ کمار آن دیار به‌تهدیه  
 احلاق مشغول شد -

Farīd due to the unkindness of his father and the enmity of his brothers, having separated from them, and resigned his service under Jamāl Khān, passed some time at Jaunpūr in gathering knowledge and the acquirement of perfections, till the time he read '*Kāfiya*' with commentaries and other compendiums. And he also read the *Gulistān*, *Būstān*, and *Siḥandar Nāma* and other works besides, and having approached monasteries and schools, he busied himself in the purification of morals in the society of the learned and the great Shaikhs of that locality.

و در عن‌تاریخ دیر باوقوف شد -

<sup>1</sup> Badā'uni, Vol I, 357

Also, refer Qānūngō's life of Shūr Shāh.

<sup>2</sup> Tazkira-i Bagh-i Ma'āni (bound with Nafar's ul Ma'āsir),  
 B.M MSS., Or 1761 fol 126a

And in the branch of history as well he became conversant.

Like his predecessor Sultan Sikandar Lodi he patronised the students of Arabic and Persian literature and attached great importance to educational merit in all public services. In his official and private life he had scholars and poets constantly attending him and was fond of listening to their literary discussions and participating in same. Once a Qāzi of his court who was accompanied by a young student, came to see him. The keen interest evinced by the latter in the youth and the patronage shown to him is described as follows:

A young student of Arabic rewarded by Shēr Shāh for constant answers to questions on Arabic grammar

ture and attached great importance to educational merit in all public services. In his official and private life he had scholars and poets constantly attending him and was fond of listening to their literary discussions and partici-

حوالی بالقاضی همراه - سرشاه از قاضی پرسید  
که این همراهی شما میدانم که خوبیی بسا داشته  
باشد اما هیچ وقت هم ندان قاضی گفت طایف عام  
است کاتبه میکنند سرشاه حوین کاتبه را با حواشی  
درست بکنطری داشت از آن طالعلم پرسید که عمر  
درست یا عمر در آن طالعلم عرض نمود که عمر  
در آن است راه فرمود که بجهت دلیل طایف لم از روی  
هم بدلیلی معقولی جواب هر دو دادند بدان

1 Cf. *Tarikh-i* [غير معلوم طالعلم با طالعلم در میان می خورد] David. H. M. MSS. Or 197 fol. 77a.]

Also Cf. *Bligh* 1 [غير معلوم در آن طالعلم کلام پرسید] *Ma'at al asf al*

*Ibid.* fol. 80a

شیرشاہ فرمود کہ ہاں یہ ایک زمین و ہاں یہ روپیہ نقد ہاں دینے کا ارادہ ہے کہ دینے کا ارادہ ہے۔  
 قادلیہ دیگر ہم دارن شیرشاہ فرمود کہ کد ام قادلیہ۔  
 اس وقت حاکم کلام رہا ام شیرشاہ فرمود کہ  
 ہاں یہ ایک روپیہ دینے کا ارادہ ہے کہ دینے کا ارادہ ہے۔  
 آن حالہ از طالب العلم پرسید کہ موافق قادلیہ۔  
 معاش و زر نقد ہاں عرض نمود کہ بلے یا اتم کرم  
 پان شاہانہ یا اتم سیر شاہ فرمود کہ ہاں یہ ایک  
 زمین و ہاں یہ روپیہ نقد دینے کا ارادہ ہے۔

A youth accompanied the Qāzi Shēr Shāh asked the Qāzi, "I presume that this comrade of yours bears some relationship with you, but does he possess any merit also"? The Qāzi replied, "The youth is a student, and reads '*Kāfiya*.' Shēr Shāh, since he had retained in his recollection the '*Kāfiya*' with its correct commentaries, asked that student, "Is '*Umar munsarif*' or '*ghair munsarif*'?" The student replied, '*ghair munsarif*.' Shēr Shāh said, "With what argument?" The student gave an intelligent answer with his arguments based on logical reasoning. Shēr Shāh ordered that 500 '*bigah*' of land and 500 rupees cash be given to him. The student said, "I possess one more merit." Shēr Shāh asked, "What is that?" The student replied, "I retain in my memory the Divine book." Shēr Shāh ordered that

500 *bigah* and 500 rupees more be added to his share. Simultaneously with that he asked the student: Did you get the means of living and the cash money according to your merits? The student replied: Yes, I got them, but I have not yet received the generosity of the king. Shēr Shāh ordered that 500 *bigah* of land and 500 rupees cash more be added.

He had a good taste for poetry and composed verses both in Persian and Hindi under the pen name *Farid*. The following Persian verse of his own composition was his morogram which he got inscribed on his seal.

Hint: see  
Persian and  
Hindi poetry

خداوند عالمی ترا باد دایم

ہمیں سر سے تیں حسن سر قائم

God keep thee king for ever

Live in peace Shēr Shāh son of Hasan Sūr

On one occasion when Humāyūn's army in a contest with Shēr Shāh was completely routed and many of the soldiers and noble officers were drowned in

<sup>1</sup> Farīdāt, Vol. I, p. 473

NOTE.—The author of *Tārīkh-i Dā'adī* puts the first hemistich as follows:

خداوند عالمی ترا باد دایم

God the king (or God the Eternal king) may remain over him always

{ibid. B. M. MS. Or. 18<sup>o</sup> fol. 7<sup>a</sup>.}

the river while crossing same, Shēr Shāh composed a very opportune quatrain as follows :

خدایا توانا تو بگر توئی  
توانا درویش پرور توئی  
رید حسن را تو شاهي دهی  
سپاه مایوں دهی

O God, Mighty and Rich art Thou,  
Thou art the Mighty Supporter of the poor ;  
Thou givest royalty to Farīd, son of Hasan,  
Thou givest the army of Humāyūn to the fish.

In his composition he followed the current Indian style which was on the lines of flowery Persian.

و شہر فارسی درویش مردم مدد داتان گفته

And Persian verses he composed after the manner of the people of Hindūstān

He also composed verses in Hindī and was a patron of Hindī poetry. The chief Hindī and Persian poets of his court were respectively Malik Muhammad Jā'isī (the author of Padumāwat), and Shaikh 'Abdul Hai, son of Shaikh Jamālī Kambūh.

There is a Persian-Arabic verse of his as follows :

<sup>1</sup> Tazkirat-i Bugh-i Ma'ani (bound with Nafais ul Ma'asir)  
B M MSS, Or. 1761, fol 130a

<sup>2</sup> Tarikh-i Du'udi, B.M. MSS, Or 197, fol 77a

با ما چه کردی مملو غلام ؟ دی  
قوائے - - - لا خیر فی الہ دی

With us what did Mullū do ? the slave the  
cursed  
The Prophet has said, There is no good in  
slaves

He evinced good taste and fine poetic humour on many occasions. Once on being told that his beard had grown white, he replied that it was true since he wore the crown towards the evening of his life.

He died while storming the fort of Kālmjar in 952 A.H. through the bursting of an enemy rocket which caused a fire in the magazine. The date of his death was found in the most suggestive phrase (آتش سرد) in the following chronogram composed by one of his court poets.

شیرشاہ آنکہ از مہانت او  
سرد ہو آب را بہم آرد

<sup>1</sup> *Raṣṣ* 1, Vol. I, p. 365.

NOTE.—Shēr Shāh had composed this poem on the day when Mullū Khān, ruler of Mālwa playing false, had one night suddenly disappeared from Shēr Shāh's camp, although the latter had shown him great favour and taken him into service.

Farishta attributes the second hemistich to Shāikh Abdal Halī who had composed it offhand to match with Shēr Shāh's first hemistich [*Farishtā*, Vol. I, p. 425.] The same is corroborated by Nizāmoddin Ahmad Tabaqat-i Akbari, p. 231.]

<sup>2</sup> *Farishtā*, Vol. I, p. 422.



ار جهان رفت گفت دیر خرد  
 "ال تازمخ او در آتش مرد"

Shēr Shāh is he through whose terror,  
 The lion and the goat drank water together ;  
 He went away from the world ; old Wisdom  
 uttered,  
 The year of his death, "from the fire he died "

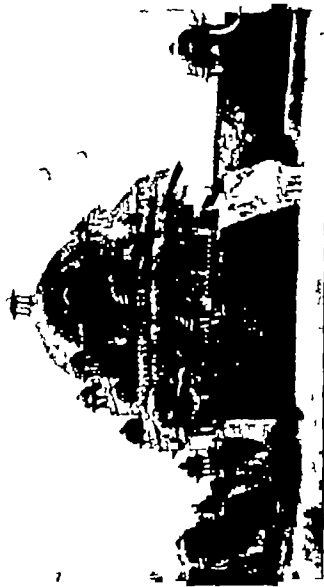
Historians are unanimously agreed that Shēr Shāh was a just, wise, and capable monarch, and his reign was distinguished for peace and tranquillity. Badāūni congratulates himself on his birth having taken place in the reign of a just monarch like Shēr Shāh<sup>1</sup> in the following words which shower a most glowing tribute of praise that could ever be paid to any Muslim king :

و بحمد الله که در زمان این چنین ملکی که ا قال انبی  
 علیه السلام انا ولدت فی زمان الملک العادل تولد ...  
 این منم که در هفتادم شهر ربیع الثانی در سنه ...  
 و اردبین و ... و ...

And God be praised that in the regime of such a king as said by the Prophet (may peace be upon him), " I was born in the reign of a just monarch," the birth of the author

<sup>1</sup> This encomium of Badāūni is significant since he had no word of praise for his own sovereign, Akbar, by whom he was patronised

<sup>2</sup> Badāūni, Vol. I, p. 363



TOMB OF SHER SHAH AT SASARAM  
Dt SHAHNAD BIHAR.



of this *Muntakhab* took place on the 17th of the month of *Rabi' as Sūn* in the year 947 A H

Farishta holds the same view of Shēr Shāh's just and peaceful administration and says that he performed many deeds of public good in building *Cāravānsarāis* for the *Hindūs* and the *Muslims* alike on the main roads from *Bengāl* to the *Indus* (a distance of 1500 *kōs*) and from *Āgra* to *Māndū* (a distance of 300 *kōs*) requisitioning them with plentiful supplies of food and provision and making these routes perfectly safe for journey

و در هر يك كرو سرائے ساخته چاه و ... ار  
 ... و گنج پرده اخته مؤذن و مقري و اعمامي مقرر  
 نموده آنها را و ... معين كرده و در هر سرائے يك دروازه  
 طعام پخته و ... و خام برآيه ... اناں و دروازه ديگر كذلك  
 برآيه ... مقرر نموده ... و در ... نش ... است  
 هر يك بود كه ... در ... و نيابان ... در ...  
 از كالاے خود ... نكرده بفراعت مي غنودند گویند  
 اگر زالى با ... از طلا در ... را شما خواب كردي  
 ... ان اصلا نمودي اكثر اوقات خود را  
 صرف كار ... كرتي و سر اهتمام سياه و تسمار رعایا  
 بواجبي نمودي و بر طرفه عدل و داد استقامت داشتی -

And at the end of every *kōz* he got built a *Sarāi* a mosque and a well, from hme and

baked brick. He appointed a 'mu'azzin,' a reader of the Qur'ān, and an Imām, and fixed gratuities for each of them. And in every *Sana'* he fixed one gate for cooked food and rations for the Muslims, and another similar gate for the Hindūs. And in his reign such was the public security that travellers in jungle and desert, wherever they reached, went to sleep without apprehension for their property. It is said that if an old woman with a tray full of gold slept at nights in a desert there was no need for a watch at all. Often he devoted himself to public service and duly attended to the affairs of his army and the welfare of his subjects, and persevered in the path of equity and justice.

He is a most important poet of the court of Shēr Shāh. He combined the Sanskrit and Persian scholarship with poetic attainments, and was regarded as a Sūfī. He was patronised by Shēr Shāh whom he eulogised in his memorable Hindi poem, the '*Padumāvati*' which was a notable undertaking by a Muslim. It was

Malik Mu-  
hammad Jāsi  
a poet of  
epoch-making  
significance

' A woman of remarkable beauty daughter of the Rājā of Ceylon seized by the Rājā of Chittaur, and afterwards fell in possession of Sultān 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī. Her story is also written in Persian poetry by one Husain Ghaznawī. Another by Rāi Gobind Munshī. Also in Urdū verse by the joint efforts of Mīr Zayn'uddīn 'Ibrat, and Ghulām 'Alī 'Ishrat.



MIRAN MUHAMMAD JĀISI THE RENOWNED  
POET OF SHEER SHĀH

[Kindly lent by Prof A Qazi Fāzi M.A Lucknow University]



written in 947 A.H. in terse Hindi language occasionally mixed with Persian and easy Hindi words. The most curious thing was that he adopted Persian characters for his text, an event of epoch making significance in the history of both Hindi and Persian literatures in India.

Malik Muhammad is we believe the oldest poet of Hindūstān of whom we have any uncontested remains. The preservation of *Padumāvatī* is due mainly to the happy accident of Malik Muhammad's religious reputation. Although profoundly affected by the teaching of Kabir and familiarly acquainted with Hindū lore and with the Hindū Yōga philosophy he was from the first revered as a saint by his Muhammadan co-religionists. He wrote his poem in what was evidently the actual vernacular of his time, tinged slightly with an admixture of a few Persian words and idioms due to his Musalmān predilections. It is also due to his religion that he originally wrote it in the Persian character and hence discarded all the favourite devices of Pandits who tried to make their language correct by spelling vernacular words in the Sanskrit fashion. He spelled each word rigorously as it was pronounced. His work is hence a valuable witness to the actual condition of the vernacular language of the 16th century.<sup>1</sup>

G. H. Grierson and M. H. Bhattacharya, *Śrī Rām Karm Devīdī, Padumāvatī*, Vol. I, Introduction, Calcutta, 1911.



He was a disciple of two prominent Sūfis, Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngir and Sayyid Muhr'ūddīn,<sup>1</sup> whose praises he sang in his poems calling them as his masters and steersmen. He also poured unqualified praise on Shēr Shāh for his just and peaceful reign, and for his literary patronage.. He is one of the three great Muslim poets of Hindī<sup>2</sup> who flourished in India in the 16th century A D., and helped towards the formation and growth of modern Urdū the lingua franca of India

<sup>1</sup> These two in their lifetimes had considerable influence over the people of Upper Hindūstān, and belonged to the Chishtiya Nizāmīya order

<sup>2</sup> The other two being Kabīr of the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lōdī (already described under Bābur), and Rahīm of the reign of Akbar (to be discussed hereafter)

## CHAPTER VI

He met his tragic death at Delhi in 963 A H by an accidental fall from the terrace of his library where he often retired in the after-  
Humāyūn's death. noons to amuse himself with books.

That evening also according to his wont, having examined his bookshelves he walked on to the terrace to enjoy fresh air. Just when he was descending the staircase the *mā azim* gave a call to prayers on hearing which he went down on his knees in holy reverence. When the *azān* was over he rose supporting himself on a staff which unfortunately slipped upon the marble and he fell down headlong several steps. He received great injuries in his head and arm and was removed to his palace insensible. On the fifth day he expired.<sup>1</sup> Thus ended the life of one of the most

<sup>1</sup> Padarāni and Abul Fazl have probably used the Turki work *Asi 'at ul Afamiliyik* of Sidi Ali Reis who was then personally present at the court and describes the event with almost the same accuracy of detail as do Padarāni and Abul Fazl with the following notable differences.

(1) Sidi Ali Reis omits to say from what part or section of the castle Humāyūn fell while Padarāni and Abul Fazl make it quite clear by stating that the fall occurred from the building known as *Asīb al-Adab* (library).

humane monarchs of the Mughal dynasty, a lover of science and literature, and a character nobler than any to be found in the long line of the Mughal kings

The court poets wrote chronograms' each trying to excel the other in poetic grace and plain-tiveness. Of the numerous chronograms the best was of Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī quoted by Jauhar and reproduced on p 55 *supra*. Elegiac poems were also written

(11) Sidi 'Ali Reis makes Humāyūn die on the fourth day of his fall Cf the statement

۱- کون الہی ، چہ کون الہام معازی و قنادۃ بادشاہ..... ہو؟  
کون دار و مہر کون جوار و حہ انتقال ایتدیل -  
[Mir'At ul Mamalik, p 55].

while Abul Fazl on the fifth day, and Badshahi on the ninth Cf the statement

مر تاریخ ۱۴۴۴م شہر ربیع الاول ۱۰۴۵ھ در بالائے بام کتابخانہ در  
آہند و در میں نور آمدن پایۂ ایشان بنامزد و از ہند رینہ  
پایۂ ۱۴۴۵م شہر ربیع آمدن و در پانزدہم ماہ مذکور این عالم بیوفا را  
بیوہ کرد -

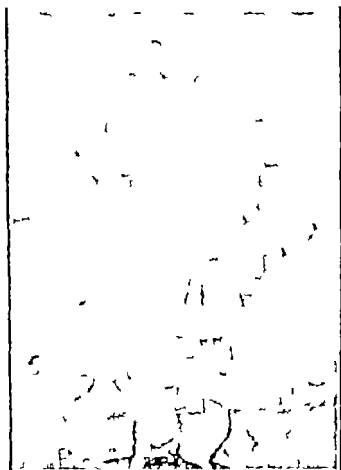
[Badāʾunī, Vol I, pp 465-466]

I suspect that مہدی is a misprint for مہدی. If, so, the versions of Badshahi and Abul Fazl tally with Jauhar who, though gives no details, yet declares that the fall took place on the 7th and the death on the 11th

<sup>1</sup> Cf Maulānā Hishārī's chronogram

و اول حق شد همه ییرو پادشاه

(Humāyūn Padishāh united with God) Also Cf. Mir  
'Abdul Hai's **امداد بادشاہ من از بام**  
O alas! my king fell down from the terrace (Akbar  
Nama, Vol. I, p 368)



HUMAYUN'S REMAINS BEING CARRIED TO THE BURIAL GROUND  
THE YOUNG PRINCE AKBAR ACCOMPANYING THE CORTGE.  
(Acquired at Lucknow)



of which the most touching was from the pen of KhwEja Husain Mervā as follows

اے دل صد اے مرگ ترا عم از دلی است  
 صمم اهل عالم عمت مدلی است  
 درون گل نفس ذائق الموت حکم شد  
 ممدان نفس که شرب مرگت از دلی است  
 این نام زندگی که نهادند بر ترا  
 نام ترا بطرف صانت از دلی است  
 عره مسو نایب گل بستان زندگی  
 یا خراں درین گل و بستان و زندگی است  
 از گوس خویشتن سنوی گل نایب نالند  
 در گوس دیگران خمرت هم رسیدنی است

O heart, thou too hast to hear the call of  
 death  
 The morn of death is to appear on the hori-  
 zon of thy life  
 Since it was ordained every soul must taste  
 of death  
 know for certain that thou hast to taste the  
 drink of death  
 This name of life that they gave to thee  
 Is only to draw thy name towards death  
 Do not pride thyself on this rose of the  
 garden of life

Humāyūn, unlike his father, was a monarch more of literary tendencies than of administrative bent<sup>1</sup> and possessed a keen sense of humour hardly surpassed by any

چوں کامراں میزرا ۱۰-۱۲ و ۱۳-۱۴ اے خوب ہید دتا ۱۰-۱۱ کہ یاد داتا  
۱۰-۱۱ دیکھ ارگمی ۱۰-۱۱ مہا کرد و دروں ۱۰-۱۱ طالقں در آمد ۱۰-۱۱ نہرت حفر  
۱۰-۱۱ ار کتابتہ پر ۱۰-۱۱ عرض کردن کہ ۱۰-۱۱ ۱۰-۱۱ -

د - یی قلی سیزرا فرادر اینه-د-ان ار مههد ندین والدۀ  
و نواتوان آمده نون که رنجه مکه م-مهه حال نماید ننگان  
خسرت را مقرر کرد کتاب و دے که دایه پریمس نون ار  
کتابها ازین خواهی آمدن گرفته دو تاج و ناو و شمشیر -

other monarch of his line. In his display and appreciation of wit he may be compared to his ancestor Timūr, in his love for science to Ulugh Beg and in his poetic insight to Jahāngīr. A few instances of same are quoted below:

و قرچه خان را در گرس کرده آوردند حو  
 ل که نزدیک دربار بود رسد حکم کردند که حو  
 مرد ریس - ۱ ک است و حد رهم گفته ایم در از گرس  
 او بردارند بعد ازاں - ۲ ن قلی - ۳ ا اں مهر دار  
 این لب را خواند

حراغمی را که این بر فرورد

هر آنکو لب زند ریس بسوزد

و قرچه خان حو ریس دراز داشت این لب ۴ ک واقع  
 شد حضرت اریں - ۵ ک کمال خو ۶ ک الی نمودند -

And they brought Qarjū khān with sword  
 hung round his neck. When he reached the  
 torch which was near the Audience Hall

And Husain Quli Mirzā, brother of Ahmad Sultan, who  
 had come from Mashad to see his mother and brothers to  
 obtain leave for Mecca, interviewed his Majesty and  
 presented some books which he possessed. Out of these  
 books his Majesty took some which pleased him and  
 gave back the rest.

(Tarikh-i-Humayūn, J O MSS., 223, fol. 3b.)

Also of his death by a fall from the terrace of his  
 library to which he repaired in the afternoons for his  
 mental recreation.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., foll. 36b and 37a.



Humāyūn ordered that as Qarjā Khān was grey-haired and we had also perjured his blood, the sword should be removed from his neck. After this Husain Qulī Sultān, the seal-bearer, recited this verse.

The lamp which is lit by God,  
Whoever puffs at it his beard burns  
And since Qarjā Khān had a long beard this  
verse came opportune. His Majesty enjoyed  
this wit in the extreme

Another instance of his ready wit is to be found in the following

شیخ علی بیگ بیهود چون دربار را گفتم که عمار کدامی  
است سرت بادشاه رفته دلدۀ بیهود مدکور . روان شد  
دیار - سرت دریں "وار اوتان بیهودند که کدام " و از  
اینکه می آید مردم اقیاس عرض کردند که بیهود چون دربار  
باشد سرت پادشاه اول دربارت دیارگردد و فرمودند  
که ایشان را دلدۀ بیهود خواهد بود -

Shaikh 'Alī Bēg asked Bihbūd Chūbdār to go and congratulate his Majesty. The aforesaid Bihbūd started off. The eye of his Majesty fell on this rider and he asked, "Who is this rider that cometh"? People by mere guess replied that he might be 'Bihbūd' Chūbdār. His Majesty took this to be a good omen and said, "God be pleased, it would be 'bihbūd'" (i.e., it would turn out good)

On one occasion Humāyūn composed a *qūt'a* in which he very beautifully played on the word چتر (chitaur) and sent it on to Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī

اے کہ مے تی علم شہر چتر  
 کافراں را چتر چتری  
 بادشاہی رسد ہر سر تو  
 تو مے چتر چتری

O thou who art the enemy of the city of  
 Chitaur

How (chitaur) wilt thou capture the un-  
 believers?

A king has reached over thy head  
 Sitting art thou taking Chitaur?

<sup>1</sup> Farishta, Vol I, p. 399

Cf. Bahādur Shah's reply

مے کہ علم شہر چتر \* کافراں را چتر چتری  
 مے کہ علم شہر چتر \* تو بھی کس چتر چتری

I, who am the enemy of Chitaur  
 Will capture the infidels by force  
 Who's as at me in defence of Chitaur  
 Thou may'st see how I capture him also

It may be observed that Bahādur's reply is only a *replique* of Humāyūn's wit, and carries no originality or improvement upon the latter

He was a monarch of great humanity and possessed of very noble traits of character<sup>1</sup>. He was disposed to spend his time more in literary and peaceful concerns than aggression and military tactics on the battlefield.

His gentlest behaviour towards his brothers<sup>2</sup> through whose undisguised hostility he suffered

<sup>1</sup> Cf Shāh Tahmāsp's remark about Humāyūn's character on his interceding for the pardon and release of two of his enemies who had poisoned the Shāh's mind against him, and were eventually convicted for the offence

چوں رقعہ رسید و خواندند حضرت شاه عالم پناه در تعب شدند  
و فرمودند که من و همایون پادشاه چه نام دارد این مردم در پی  
آزار وے بودند، درینوقت شاه - ایشان - بفرمود -

When the letter reached and the Shāh read it, he became astonished and said, "What, clement disposition does Muhammad Humāyūn Pādīshāh possess! These people were seeking his injury, but he intercedes for them [Jauhar, B M MSS, Add. 16,711 fol 79a]

Also cf his reply to the counsel of one of his officers to take possession of Rājā Māldeo's territory where Humāyūn's party was then taking shelter and had procured plentiful supply of grain and water

اگر طرغ پادشاهی دے دین بدهند من اینچنین کار نمیکنم  
نکران نمیکنم

If they were to give me the kingship of the whole world, I will not commit so foul a deed or be guilty of such ingratitude [Ibid.]

Cf his reply to the counsel of his Generalissimo importuning him to kill Kāmran who was in intrigue with Shēr Shāh, and seeking to dispossess Humāyūn of his kingdom

exile and reverses in his fights with Sher Shāh is a glorious chapter in history and a splendid trait in his character. One sublime example of his tender grateful and generous nature is to be found in the munificent reward that he gave to a poor water-carrier who had helped him with a sheep-skin when his horse had slipped from underneath him in crossing the Ganges at Chausa.<sup>1</sup> It is a romantic and almost

برای این دنیا به تکلیف نادر برادر خود را از چلی بیعت نمی کنم  
ایستایی که نفعیست از من نمی آید

For this perishable world I will not render my brother from life to lifeless, and such unworthy act will not emanate from me [Ibid., fol. 24b]

Of the protests of his brothers against this measure and its ultimate inadvisability due to the grave risks involved in compelling his nobles to bow publicly to a mortal at a time when danger from Sher Shāh was threatening

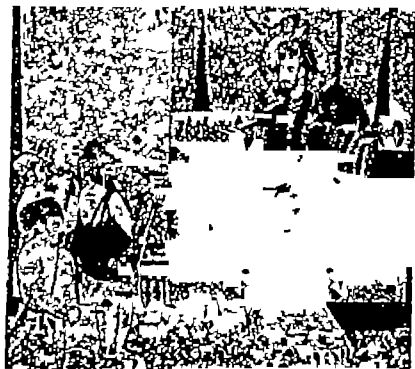
فرمان آن عالم سزا را بر منعت نداشتند و حکم نرسمند که همه  
امرایان کورگی بنام من بکنند و نام بر کسی هر چه خواهد  
بشد و حسب بدهد تا هر روز به آن نام پادشاهی دادند میرزا  
هدایت فر آن منعت نه فرمود میرزا کامران نیز نیامدند... و  
... گفتند بستانند که نام را بپوشی و در میانهای دیگر نماند  
کرد چه اگر بود که بر منعت نداشتند و نام که هر یکی  
رسیده این چه کار است که منعت نه فرمود

To be brief his Majesty made the slave water-carrier sit on the throne and gave order that all the *Amirā* should make obeisance to that slave water-carrier and the slave might bestow on any one whatever he liked and confer *mansab*. Till two days his Majesty gave royalty to that

unheard-of instance in modern history that a monarch ever rewarded the services of any of his truest, bravest, or loyalist officers, much less a menial of the rank of a water-carrier, with seating him on the royal throne

menial Mirzā Hindāl was not present in that assembly, and Mirzā Kamrān too did not attend, and sent word to his Majesty saying, "To the slave gifts and other kinds of concessions should be granted. What need is there that he should sit on the throne at a time when Shēr Khān has approached near? What is this work that your Majesty is doing?"

[Gulbadan Begam, Humāyūn Nāmā, p. 44]



THE FAMOUS WATER-CARRIER *king* WHO HAD HELPED  
 HUMAYÜN WITH A SHEEP-SKIN WHEN CROSSING THE  
 RIVER AT ORAUSA APPEARING FOR HIS REWARD  
 BEFORE THE EMPEROR WHO IS SEEN ISSUING  
 ORDERS TO HIS SECRETARY

[Sourced through Mr S M Azim Ansari B.A., Law  
 student, AHgarh]



## CHAPTER VII

A great tribute of praise is paid by some Persian and English historians to Shāh Tahmāsp for his very noble and generous reception of Humāyūn. Sir John Malcolm the great historian and authority on Persian affairs writes thus

The reign of Shāh Tahmāsp owes much of its celebrity to the truly royal and hospitable reception he gave to the Emperor Hoomāyūn when that monarch was forced to fly from India and take shelter in his dominions. The Persians have in all ages boasted of their hospitality and the vanity of every individual is concerned in supporting the pretensions of his country to a superiority over others in the exercise of this national virtue and we know no example of a distressed monarch being so royally welcomed so generously treated and so effectually relieved. All means of the kingdom were called forth to do honour to the royal guest and they were as liberally furnished to replace him upon his throne. Tahmāsp merited the



praise which his conduct upon this occasion obtained him from distant nations."'

This is an exaggerated, and to an extent erroneous account of the reception and the help given to Humāyūn. It is neither supported by reference to any historical source, nor its validity sufficiently tested. Persian writers also, especially of later date, express such views which similarly are based on no historical data. Some observations from "the artless and transparently truthful narrative of Humāyūn's personal attendant Jauhar," are reproduced below.

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Malcolm, History of Persia, Vol I, 50t

NOTE.—The help eventually given by the Shāh consisted of several thousand foot and cavalry which dispersed soon after the conquest of Qandhār, with all its treasures surrendered to them. Humāyūn then recruited fresh soldiers with whose help he was able to conquer Cābul, and there studiously busied himself from four to five years in making special preparations for his attack on India. He sent rich presents to all the great chiefs of Qandhār, Samargand, Bukhārā, and other towns, inviting them to join him in his expedition, giving them great hopes for the future. It was to this newly raised army led under his command after five years of his return from Persia that he virtually owes his throne of India. Cf his '*masnawī*' quoted on p 18 supra. Also, Cf Jauhar, fol 127a

نصرت پادشاه دریں حالها سیر میکردند و اهل بلاد و  
 رنای ملک و رقتند و بشمارا و بهاء اعظم کردند و بهایی را  
 سعادت فرستادند و بفرستاد که اینچنانکه دغمت و توجه شدن  
 و دوستی دارد انشاءالله تعالی اگر تشریف آرند هیچ مانع نیست  
 بیایند تا یکبار شکار درستان بکیم تا به آخر چه آرد

علي الصباح حضرت شاه عالم کوچ کرده در مقام  
 - ۱۷۱ - فرود آمدند.. حضرت پادشاه  
 بسلام رفته بودند که خندان گفت  
 در طلب خون ندیدم که گفت: خاطر  
 - ۱۷۲ - و خون را الزام کردی گردان  
 که کام - ۱۷۳ - نمی آمدیم و از برای مهمانی حضرت پادشاه  
 صبح جمع کرده بودند که - ۱۷۴ - رت شاه گفته فرستادند  
 که اگر در دس ما در آیند در ترم - ۱۷۵ - می باسم و الا  
 به تمامی اهل - ۱۷۶ - شارا درین صبح آنس داده خواهم  
 - ۱۷۷ - رت پادشاه گفته فرستادند که ما بدین  
 خون قایم مقام - ۱۷۸ - هم آمدیم و ما را خندان آرزوی پادشاهی  
 هم - ۱۷۹ - و هر چه - ۱۸۰ - به اراده خداست دل  
 خون را باز - ۱۸۱ - ایم -

Early in the morning the Shāh (Tahmāsp) having marched arrived and halted at Sultāniyā. His Majesty (Humāyūn) had gone to greet him but seeing no attention paid to himself was grieved at heart, and began to accuse himself saying: Would that I had not come! And for the entertainment of his Majesty they had collected some firewood. The Shāh sent a verbal message saying: If you enter into our religion we will extend our support, otherwise with all your co-religionists we shall burn you alive in this pile of

wood." His Majesty returned the message, "we are firm in our religion, we came, and we do not entertain much desire even for kingship. And whatever there is, it is with the will of God the Great, and the High. We have bound our heart to Him."

Humāyūn approached by Shāh Tahmāsp to accept the Shi'a faith.

Shortly afterwards Humāyūn was approached through a special messenger of the Shāh to accept the Shi'a faith under a similar threat.

قامی جهان وکیل - ات در ملازمی - رفت  
 بادشاه آمد عرض کرد که شما تنها در شیعه ایستاد  
 قریب هشتصد کس کشته خواهند شد

Qāzī Jahān, the Vakīl of the Shāh, came to his Majesty and said, "You are not alone On your account about seven hundred people will be put to death."

Apart from this, Shāh Tahmāsp was all the time actually thinking to take Humāyūn's life which

Humāyūn's life saved through the noble intervention of Shāh Tahmāsp's daughter.

was saved only through a happy accident. The Shāh revealed his secret to his son Bahrām Mīrzā, who out of compassion divulged it to his sister through whose tender pleadings the situation was changed, and to whose

truly noble spirit Humāyūn owes his life and all his subsequent career :

الغرض يك روز حضرت ساء عالم پناه با بهرام میرزا  
در میان علایق دستلبی بودند حضرت پادشاه فرمودند  
ازین میان میرزا غلبه گرفت که وقت کرد و  
خود اس عاجز ظاعری ساخت که همایون پادشاه از نسل  
تیمور پادشاه بنای خود به او ادا کرد تمام آمد و رفت  
مدت گذشت که ما او عمده شدیم این درین واسطه  
عالم پناه حکم باطل نمیکردند چون این امر  
به گوش پادشاه رسید که حضرت شاه در خانه آن  
رسید بهرام میرزا سلام کرد و در وقت و حضرت ساء  
فرمودند و پرسیدند - بگریستن - عرض کرد که  
بروز خود منگرم باز فرمودند که سلامتی ما بهتوا آمد  
گفت همیشه در دعای حضرت ساء عالم پناه شغول فاما  
سما هر چهار طرف را دارید و نمیدانید که  
همایون پادشاه پسر و پادشاه را از پادشاهان  
اوجده است می آید اگر بر احوال او رحم نکند و  
سر از نفر نمایند و امداد او بخاک نیاورند و  
تا در هر جا که داند برود ساء عالم پناه اس کلام  
در ساعت تسلی شد و گفت تمام امرا با من در  
خون عرض نمیکردند فاما بهتر ازین آنست که تو  
منگونی -

To be brief one day the Shāh talked with  
Bahrām Mirzā of the killing of Humāyūn.

From this speech the Mirzā being overcome with grief wept, and divulged this affair to his sister saying, "Humāyūn Pādishāh from the progeny of Timūr Pādishāh has come on foot with all hopes, and some period has elapsed since we have eaten the salt together. At this time the Shāh ordered a wrong thing." When this chaste lady heard this speech she burst into tears. In the meantime the Shāh entered her house. Bahrām Mirzā saluted him and went out. And the Shāh halted and asked what was the reason for her crying. She said, "I weep on my day." The Shāh again said, "Wish our welfare." She said, "I am always busy in my prayer for your Majesty, but you have on all the four sides enemies. And it is heard that Muhammad Humāyūn Pādishāh has a son and brothers. What good should come to hand by torturing him? If you do not take pity on his affairs and exalt and help him, you should bid him farewell, so that whatever place he knows of he may go to." The Shāh listened to this speech and got pacified in that moment, and said, "All the 'Umarā expressed their unwise policies, but there is nothing better than what thou sayest."

## CHAPTER VIII

During Humāyūn's reign poets and scholars from all parts of Persia, Turkistān, Bukhārā, and Samarqand continued to emigrate to India in larger numbers than before. Besides those already mentioned there were many like Maulānā Abdul Bāqī Sadr Turkistānī, Mir Abdul Hai Bukhārī, Khwāja Hijrī Jāmi, Maulānā Bāzmi, Mullā Muhammad Sūlīh and Mullā Jān Muhammad who accompanied Humāyūn on his second entry into Hindūstān. The two popular poets Jāhī Yatmiyān of Bukhārā and Haīratī of Māwarā'un Nahr had entered Humāyūn's service at Cābul and received his favours. Similarly Khwāja Ayyūb from Māwarā'un Nahr, Maulānā Nādirī from Samarqand and Maulānā Junūbī from Badakhshān all journeyed from their homes to Āgra and received mansabs.

A large majority of scholars like Mir Abdul Latīf Qazwīnī, Maulānā Abul Qāsim

<sup>1</sup> Bā Yazīd, Tarikh-i Humāyūn, IO MSS 223 foll. 72b-76a.

Astrābādī, Shaikh Abul Wājīd Fārighī Shirāzī, and Shauqī Tabrizī, came actually from the Persian towns and the Safawī court itself which, *de facto*, did not rise to the height of the munificence of the Indian courts in their patronage of Persian prose and poetry.' The last-named, Shauqī Tabrizī, who was

Part played by the Mughal as compared with the Safawī in the uplift of Persian prose and poetry

Poets under the Safawī, were on an average, paid from 20 to 30 'tūmāns' for their 'qasāid' and eulogies of the court. There is one instance discovered of a panegyrist of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great—Shāhī Taklū—who was once weighed in gold for his beautiful poetry, and on his retirement from the Shāh's service got a stipend of 20 'tūmāns' a month (a sum equal to sixty rupees). Against this solitary instance of Persian munificence, a good many brighter ones of Indian courts may be quoted. Cf—

- (i) Zuhūrī receiving several elephants loaded with gold and silver and other rich presents for his Sāqī Nāma in praise of Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar [Sar-Kush, Kalīmāt ush Shu'arā—account of Zuhūrī]
- (ii) 'Urfī receiving from the Khān i Khānān 100,000 rupees in reward for a 'qasīda' [Ibid, Account of Khān i Khānān.]
- (iii) Hayātī Kāshī was weighed in gold by Jahāngīr for his verses on the style of Khusrāu's Tughlaq Nāma. So also, Sa'īdā i Gilānī [Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī p 240]
- (iv) Abū Ṭalīb Kalīm, Sa'īdā i Gilānī, and Bāfiyā, all weighed in gold by Shāh Jahān
- (v) Maulvī 'Abdul Hakīm Sūlkōtī weighed twice in gold
- (vi) 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, author of Shāh Jahān Nāma, was similarly weighed in gold, in addition to receiving a large sum in cash, on completion of his history

an organ of the poetical assemblies arranged by Sam Mirzā at the Safawī court, had left the Prince a service only to enter Humāyūn's<sup>1</sup> Similarly Shaikh Abul Wajid Fulrighi who came from Shirāz was a pauper and had not with him even a pair of spare clothes to put on except the one ragged old garment which he had on his body. A good many poets and scholars came after Shāh Tahmāsp in the reign of Shāh Abbās the Great. The one notable example is that of Masih Rukn-i Kāshī who is reckoned among the best poets of Persia in his day and was the chief poet of the court of Shāh Abbās. The Shāh not only failed to extend the patronage he deserved but on one occasion even thought the favour he was showing him was too much for a poet, in consequence of which he left the court and came away to India in the reign of Akbar. This is the age when the liberalities of the Deccan and the

(vii) Qodsī, a most notable instance in the history of Mughal patronage received in reward for a *qasida* from a rich noble of Shāh Jahān's court, all his estate in landed and movable property with heaps of gold and silver and his mouth was filled seven times with precious jewels by Shāh Jahān himself.

(viii) Nazirī receiving from Kāshān 100 000 rupees cash and 20 000 gold mohars from Jahāngir.

<sup>1</sup> Oriental Biographical Dictionary p. 232. Cf. the statement: "He left the service of Sam Mirzā and went with the Emperor Humāyūn."

Badauni Vol I p. 476. Cf. the statement:

از کاشی ملوک لیر از کلاه فرسوده با خود انداخت

Lutf Ali Beg Azar Ātaabkādā, p. 239



Mughal kings in jealous rivalry with each other were attracting, more than they did ever before, the Persian poets and scholars from the remote corners of Persia, and the Western and Central Asia. Not only the Mughal kings but their 'Umarā too, extended an equal patronage to these literate emigrants, who in their turn sang praises of their benefactors in their beautiful poems which resounded in Persia and served as an impetus to others who yet lagged behind. This is one of the main reasons why the literary activities at the Indian courts in the field of Persian literature outweigh those of the Persians in Persia. The elegant poetry written in this and the later periods, and the useful literature produced in the shape of histories, translations from Sanskrit and Hindi works, biographies of poets, and dictionaries of Persian language and idiom, stand a contrast and a marvel to Persia.

Various explanations are offered by Persian writers for the non-appearance of any great poets in Persia under the Safawī rule. As a matter of fact both the 16th and the 17th centuries were notably poor in the number and the quality of poets produced in Persia. The chief reason for this lull, as pointed out by Iskandar Munshi—the celebrated historian of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great, was the change in the mentality of the Shāh and of the people from the panegyric to the religious poetry or Muharram mournings which constitute strophes in praise of the

Causes of the dearth of notable poets in Persia under the Safawīs as put forward by Persian historians.

Martyrs Imām Hasan and Imām Husain ' The same view is endorsed by subsequent Persian and English chroniclers.' It is also declared that the panegyrists were not tolerated by the Persian kings and consequently no poets of note appeared at their court and even if they did they were discouraged and no reward was held out to them for their eulogies. The Safawis we are told maintained that the person of the Imāms and not that of the kings was worthy of the encomiums of the poets.

While all this may be admitted as a distraction it cannot at the same time be any real reason for the following considerations First, that the panegyrists did exist under each of the Safawi kings, and received rewards for their encomiums on the person of the Shāh and second that the *marṣiyas* (or the Muharram mournings) did not and could not in the least stop other kinds of poetry The production of the former as compared with the latter is only a drop in the ocean The poet Qāsimi for instance, was a panegyrist of Shāh Ismā'īl and was rewarded no less for his *Qasā'id* than for his other poems, of which however none was in praise of

Weakness of  
their conten-  
tion.

1 The latter is best known by his revered title of " Sayyid ush Shuhadā whose martyrdom at Kerbala is a memorable event in the history of Islam and is the subject of universal mourning

2 Cf Browne Persian Literature in Modern Times, pp. 172-3.

the Imāms.<sup>1</sup> The highest reward which he got was for his poem entitled '*Shāh Nāma i Shāh Ismā'īl*' written in imitation of Firdausi's *Shāh Nāma* in extravagant praise of the Shāh. After Shāh Ismā'īl's death, he stayed for some time at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp, and possibly by the latter's desire wrote a similar poem entitled '*Shāh Nāma i Shāh Tahmāsp*' in his praise. In the latter part of his life he repaired to India, being attracted by the liberality of the Mughal court, and was graciously received by Akbar.

Among the court poets of Shāh Tahmāsp, besides Qāsimī (who came over to India), there were many, of whom Shauqi Tabrizi (who followed suit), Zamirī, 'Abdī, and Muhtasham Kāshī, were conspicuous. Muhtasham poured unqualified praise on the Shāh, which not only was admitted but justly rewarded by the latter. The Persian biographer, Lutf 'Alī Bēg Azar, describes him as a panegyrist of the Shāh, and a prominent figure among the poets of the Safawi court.

شاه طهماسب در این دو کتاب و مداح  
 شاه طهماسب در این دو کتاب و مداح

<sup>1</sup> Cf. his poems

- (i) *Shāh Nāma i Shāh Ismā'īl*
- (ii) *Kār Nāma*, a poem on the game of Chaugān, written at the request of the Shāh himself
- (iii) *Ishtā wa Majnūn*, dedicated to the Shāh
- (iv) *Khusrau wa Shīrīn*, dedicated to Sām Mirzā

[*Tuhfa i Sāmī*, U. L. C., Or. 648, fol. 28a.]

<sup>2</sup> *Atashkade*, p. 231

He is the head of the eloquent poets of that period and a panegyrist of Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī.

Some specimens showing the nature of praises showered by him from time to time on the person of the Shāh are reproduced below

’ء گنتی ستاں طہا! ہاں کریم رزم اور  
 تن پہل دماں کا حد دل سر زباں لرز  
 اگر بغور حسن آید دہاں آستلی ہر س  
 ز حسن ابروے دریاں اں ہر آستلی لرز

The king—conqueror of the world—Tahmāsp  
 is such that from the fear of his battle  
 The body of the fierce elephant diminishes,  
 and the heart of the ferocious lion  
 shivers

If the emperor of China comes with the  
 intent to bow at his threshold  
 From the scowl of the porter of that  
 threshold he becomes

’ءا بدن د تگاہ حل باشد  
 دست د سے خدا یگان باشد

Ibid.

\* Ibid

NOTE.—This is in poor imitation of Anwarī’s famous *qasida* in praise of Sultan Banjar beginning

گر دل و دست پسر و کن باشد \* دل و دست خدا یگان باشد  
 یا عنصر کہ گزینی ندی \* هر چہ از پادشاه زلفی باشد

شاه طهماسب، آنکه در سپهرش .  
 همه و همه در هزار خان باشد  
 آنکه از مددش مدد است او  
 درن چاؤس کاروان باشد  
 و آنکه از هیبت سیاه او  
 گرگ نامی مگ همان باشد  
 چون همان سرس و سیمانی  
 در دزدان در همه ادس و جان باشد  
 هم در مگ نو یک زمان در جنگ  
 همه و همه در هزار خان باشد  
 من چنان سمع معنی امروز  
 انوری مستند از آن باشد

Till body be the monopoly of the hand of  
 the soul,

That hand be the hand of the king ;

Shāh Tahmāsp is such that in his army,

Like Sanjar there are thousand *Khāns*,

He is such that from the dread of his

justice,

The thief is the herald of a *Kāravān*,

And he is such that through the fear of his

chastisement,

The lawless wolf is the dog of a shepherd ;

When thou givest motion to the rein of thy

steed,

Paralysis overtakes the body of man and

genii ,

Thy delay for a moment in battle  
Is a respite to a hundred thousand lives  
I am such a candle enlightener of meaning  
That Anwarī seeks light therefrom

Side by side with this he also wrote his famous *Haft band* in praise of the Imāms. Zamīrī is another who began his career as a poet in Shāh Tahmāsp's reign and produced volumes of secular poetry in which respect no other poet in the whole of Persia could compete with him.<sup>1</sup> Abdi is yet another who carried the palm in his lavishness of praise on Shāh Tahmāsp. Besides the usual *qasīd* he wrote a long panegyric on the Shāh entitled *Būstān-i Khayāl* (the garden of imagination) also called *Haftkhi-zāna*. A specimen from same will easily reveal the tendency of the Shāh's taste as also that of the poets at his court.

سر مدح - امان السلاطین خاقان التتوایس شاه  
طهماسب الهادی الموسوی الهادی شاهان الملک  
ابدی -

شاهان الملک - امان السلاطین خاقان التتوایس شاه  
که هم تاج دخت است و هم ملک گم

<sup>1</sup> *Atashkadeh* p. 243. Cf. the statement:

ضمیمہ - اس میں کمال الدین حسین فرزند غلام شاہ ۱۰۰۰  
(۱۰۰۰) غلامی لکھانوی فرزند حسین شاہ غلامی شاہ ۱۰۰۰ و گویا فر  
امین الملک فرزند دین محمد فرزند غلامی لکھانوی -

<sup>2</sup> Or 2504 B M MSS

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* fol. 8a.

The emperor of Jamshīd's dignity of  
Darius's throne,  
Who bestows crown as well as takes  
away kingdom;  
Of the Prophet Muhammad's lineage (may  
peace of God be upon him), of 'Alī's  
grandeur,  
That the back of mountain shivers like  
sea for fear of him ;  
The decorator of the crown of chief ship,  
The uplifter of the banner of 'Alī;  
Of exalted head, of proud neck, and bes-  
tower of crown,  
That the stars are his soldiery, and the  
sun is his steed ;  
Of the court of the sky, of the army of  
stars.

The keeper of religion the emperor

Shāh Tahmasp

In the following the poet refers to a *mansab* which he got from the Shāh in appreciation of secular poems consisting of *qasid* and *masnawi* and *ghazal* all of which proceeded from his pen as a sequel to the Shāh's patronage. In the third verse, in which he observes that his poetry was up till then in abeyance he emphatically denies that it was due to any sense of shame for writing poetry

مندیان اعلیٰ حوستاتم  
مناسب تربی نهیے ہاتم  
ازاں منصب آوردہ نای بد  
نہم عربزبان نداتم ۲۰ ت  
دلے در نہاں بود شعرم سغار  
نمودی ازاں ۱ تم ۱۱۲ و غلر  
تصاید ز کلکم بر آورد سر  
حوالہ ۱۱۱ ۱۱۱ ۱۱۱ ۱۱۱ ۱۱۱  
نوستم کار بدایع نگار  
غزلہاے ریندہ ابدار  
تنم نمودم از اطوار نظم  
حظ و راحت خوستہ بازار نظم

When I hurried to the sublime court  
I got a most suitable *mansab*'



From that '*mansab*' I brought to my hand  
a bread,  
 I caused no discomfiture (discredit) to the  
name of my dear ones ,  
 Albeit my profession of a poet lay in hiding,  
 It was not due to any sense of shame or  
disgust arising from my connection  
with that ;  
 '*Qasā'id*' made their head from my pen,  
 Like fresh dates from a dry palm-tree ;  
 I wrote from my quant-writing pen,  
 Well-tempered glittering *ghazals* ,  
 From the styles of poetry I followed,  
 What style was more fascinating in the  
market of poetry

Still more reassuring are the lines addressed to Shāh Tahmāsp, in which the author emphatically declares, as his own reason for the praise of the Shāh, that the panegyric poetry in Persia was still, as it had ever been before, the order of the day :

میرزا آقا در مدح شاهی داشت، نور  
 چهارگزین شد سحر چو زریں لاله نور  
 هر آنگاه نمودش مدح مدح  
 نمودش چنان هم دهر اعتبار  
 و گوار سخن پروران کهن  
 مهدی باب مدح اندر آمد سخن

همه کرده از نامور نامده ها  
 بسدح سهاں گرم هنگامه ها  
 مراحم خوش آید که دیوان من  
 که آمد گرامی تر از جان من  
 ز نام همه خوش تر آمد حمال  
 کلام ز لاله بدین کمال  
 اگر دی از نام بودگر سعد  
 خط ساعد نظم را کرد جعد  
 کبر معدی از نام طهیا-ب شاه  
 -حسن را زند بر ملک بارگاه

Every one who had lustre from the praise  
 of a king  
 Became the possessor of world like the  
 blessed sun  
 Any one whose poetry was not based on  
 praise  
 His worth was not much recognised in the  
 world  
 Again from the poets of yore  
 The best chapter which proceeded was that  
 of praise  
 All commenced their records from the name  
 of the renowned  
 From the praise of kings they warmed their  
 assemblies  
 To me also it becomes agreeable that my  
 poetic collection,

Which is held more precious than my life ;  
May take embellishment from the name of a  
king like thee,  
My poetry from thy praise attain perfection ;  
If Sa'di from the name of Bū Bakr Sa'd,  
Plaited the hair of poetry, the bride ;  
Now ' Abdī from the name of Shāh Tahmāsp,  
Pitches the royal tent of speech above  
the sky.

These outpourings are followed by a fulsome and long drawn out panegyric which would defy any poet. Some by way of specimen are quoted below :—

اگر مله‌ری در ز مه‌ود دم  
فر آوردن در ملک معنی نام  
مرادین که مه‌ود شد عاقبت  
که کردم چو سوخته را صفت  
دشمنی و حاقانی از اخستان  
اگر باز گشتند صد داستان  
که بود ایشان شاه جوان زمین  
قرا صد چو شروان بود در بگس  
اگر گشت روز مه‌ود مال و ماه  
مدیح علاءالدین و بیروز شاه  
که نامی یکر بود از ایان چنان  
که یارن سلسلن ما تو همداستان  
اگر دانمکه سلطان دلی داشت  
مدح آوردن حلاوت نژاد

او پس از حدی ساجی جهاندار بود  
 ستربانست را سزاوار بود  
 اگر حامی از مدح - امان - ن  
 - ن را بدر و گهر داد زین  
 برا کمترین بنده زیلسان که  
 بود حای - امان - ن - ت  
 حو مدوح من از همه برتر است  
 مرا در - ن رتبه دیگر است  
 من امروز گستم حو خسرو سمر  
 که از حوض فرد دادم خمر

Similarly Shāh Abbās, the Great, had his  
 panegyrist one of whom Shāhī Taklū his favourite  
 poet, was weighed in gold for the following beautiful  
 verse and received his weight for his reward

اگر ن کسد ساغر و گردوب  
 بطای ابرو - تان - اوس

Whether an enemy drinks a cup of wine or  
 does a friend  
 Both do so at the arc of his tipsy eye-brow

At this other poets showed jealousy and wrote  
 versified complaints to the Shāh, indirectly challeng-  
 ing the merits of their lucky comrade. The one  
 written by Mullā Lutfī, another panegyrist of the  
 Shāh a court, is well-worth quoting

شاه در کرم جهان نور کردی  
 ملک دل عالمه به نور کردی  
 شاعر که به خاک راه برادر زده بود  
 برداشتی و برادر در کردی

O king, thou hast illumined the world with  
 thy generosity,  
 Thou hast captured the kingdom of the heart  
 of a whole world ;  
 The poet who had become equal to the dust  
 of the path (i.e., whose merits were  
 as low as dust),  
 Thou hast picked him up, and made him  
 equal with gold.

/ Still more prominent was *Hakim Ruknuddin*, popularly known as *Hakim Ruknāi Kāshī*, who composed under the pen-name '*Masīh*' which suggests with his profession as a physician<sup>1</sup>. He was a competent poet and wrote over one lac (100,000) of verses according to the estimate of Persian biographers. On one occasion he noticed clear inattention

<sup>1</sup> Ibid, fol 134b

<sup>2</sup> Cf., *Shifā'ī*, another court-physician and poet of *Shāh' Abbās*, the Great. His real name was *Sharāfuddīn*, and *Shifā'ī* was his pen-name which, like '*Masīh*' is appropriately suggestive with his profession. This taste for fine phraseology and choosing homogeneous words was (as is already shown on p 64, supra), also prevalent at the Persian court, and was *de facto* brought to India from Persia itself, where, through slackness of poetical market, it did not develop so fully as it did in India under the liberal patronage of the Mughals.

and disregard on the part of Shāh Abbās (vide supra, p 151) and consequently left his court for that of the Mughal, with the following verse addressed to the Shāh

گر فلک یک صبحم بامں گراں باسد سرش  
سام بیرون صبرم حوس آفتاب از سر

If the sky on a single morn makes its head  
heavy against me  
That very evening I walk out like the sun  
from its dominion

He arrived at the Mughal court with his famous contemporary—Hakīm Sadrā of Shirāz—who subsequently had his title of *Masīhuz Zamān* conferred upon him by Jahāngir) in the last days of Akbar and was received by Abdurrahim Khān : Khānān who took them to the court. Jahāngir mentions them among his state physicians.\*

✓ About the same time another poet Shakibī Isfahānī left his native town for Āgra to enter the service of the Khān : Khānān.\* Two of his verses from

Ātaahkādā, p 339 [This shows the extent of the influence that the Mughal patronage in India exercised on the Persian court, and specially on the minds of its poets. It not only infused in them a spirit of independence but made them actually slight the patronage shown by the Safawī.]

Turuk-i-Jahāngirī, p 19

It is to be noted that the rewards by Khān : Khānān exceeded a lac of rupees. In addition to this, the latter secured for him a permanent jagir from Jahāngir a great amount.

*Sāqi Nāma* which he wrote in grateful acknowledgment of his master's liberal patronage are worthy of notice :

دیا ساقی آن آب حیوان ۸۰  
 ز سر چشمه فلان علان بدہ  
 سکندر ۱۱ کون ایکن دیار  
 کہ در ہندی ہون او نہ ظاہر شدہ

Come, o cup-bearer, give me that water of  
 nectar,

Give me from the stream of the *Khān i*  
*Khāmān*,

Alexander sought for it but did not get,  
 For it was in India and he went in the region  
 of darkness

In the face of such strong evidences there remains little doubt that the real cause of this lull in the activities of poets in Persia is not in what is so easily explained by a certain class of writers. It surely lies in some other quarter. A Persian poet of the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp wittily points out the reason of this lack, as resulting from the Shāh's attention being paid to calligraphy, painting, and riding, in the following verse :

Bayāz-i-Mirzā Asad Bēg Turkmān, MSS dated, Āgra, 8th Safar, 1146 A H, fol. 76a [My attention was first drawn to this work by Prof. A Qavi, Fāni, M A, of Lucknow University, who also very kindly permitted the use of his copy which I believe is rare ]

’جے نکادو خوش ترلی کردہ اند  
کاتب و نقاش و قرطبی و خیر

Without trouble they have made a good

process,

The scribe the painter the Qazwini and the

ass.

Another sober and somewhat stronger evidence of the lack of patronage to poets in Persia is to be found in the verse of Lisānī Shirāzī who was a contemporary of Shāh ‘Isma‘īl and Shāh Tahmāsp. On one occasion when he happened to go to Tabriz, he composed a *qanda*’ in praise of Amīr Najm II wherein he complained as follows

’مے من صافی و ارباب مروت جے ذوق  
ز من ؟ من و صراف من ناسنا

My wine is pure, but the possessors of  
sympathy are devoid of taste

My gold is unalloyed but the banker of  
speech (judge) is blind

<sup>1</sup> Prof. B. de (q=Abg. from *Ahsanot Tawārikh*) Persian Literature in Modern Times, A.D. 1600—1924, p. 97

Cf. his remark

According to the *Ahsanot Tawārikh*, Shāh Tahmāsp was in his youth much interested in calligraphy and painting; he also liked riding on Egyptian asses, which customarily became fashionable and were adorned with golden trappings and gold-embroidered saddle-cloths

Bayān-i-Mirāj Asad Hfg. fol. 57b, ut supra.



The above view finds further support in the utterance of another poet Kausarī of the court of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great While extolling in the usual manner the virtues of the Shāh<sup>1</sup> in the masnawī entitled 'فرهاد و شیرین' (*Farhād wa Shīrīn*), the poet describes the dull atmosphere obtained in Persia, as compared with India, in the following plain and unmistakable language :

کم بوحی اهل ایران نارباب معانی<sup>2</sup>  
 دریں کشور خرددار سخن دہانہ  
 کہ ز گرم نارار سخن دیوانہ  
 سخن را قدر و مقدار نہ اندہ  
 معانی را خرددارے نہ اندہ  
 دانشد ار اکثر تا ارادل  
 کسر را دل دہد و ہر مایل  
 دین باشد سخن بے قدر و مقدار  
 ہون امروز شعر و شاعری عار

<sup>1</sup> Cf

۱۔ ار صفات شاه گیتی سخن شاه عباس زاد الله و امامانہ  
 جو سرانراہ از امام الہی \* لوائی دولت عباس شاہی  
 جہاں را خواب امں آمد ندیدہ \* یہد عانیہ شد آرمیدہ  
 چنان د \* تم شد کوتہ اخلق \* کہ ناعد ظلم رالی آتیں دلق  
 بدورانہ کہ ناد ار ہم بد دور \* ر مادر ظلم می راید ولی کور

[B M MSS, Or 342, fol 12a ]

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, foll 11a and 12a

[ I am grateful to my friend, Dr A M Nizāmiddin (Nizām scholar), for having copied these lines for me on my request from the B M codex ]

نس كز بے خبریداري دریں دور  
 چگونه شد بر ارباب - من حور  
 كه در ایران كمی ناید بیدار  
 كه باشد جنس معنی را خبریدار  
 در ایران قلم گسته کام حاتم  
 بماند بد سوے هندوستان  
 همه طوطی مذاقان سكر خا  
 بلاء صد ازان کردند مارا  
 بر آید كوثری ایات خود را  
 سده نازل ز عرش آیات خود را  
 حو قطره جانب همان فرستم  
 متاع خود به دستان فرستم  
 كه نمود در - من دانی دوراں  
 خبردار من جز حلقه خانان  
 - را ۱ نه جز او نكند - ۱  
 جهانرا به چرخ او آماد ۲  
 بعالم صبح كس ز اهل علو  
 كه از دست - ۱ ایس بهر دور ۱

Complaint' for the inattention of the people of  
 Iran towards the possessors of meaning (i.e. poets)

1 His complaint is of special value as proceeding from one who  
 was a favourite of Shāh Abbās and a writer of elegies on  
 the Imāms. Cf..

In this dominion there is no purchaser of  
speech,  
No one is eagerly busy in the market of  
speech ;  
To speech value and weight remained not,  
Nor for meaning any customer remained ;  
From the greatest to the humblest, there is  
not,  
Any one whose heart is inclined to verse ,  
So much valueless and insignificant has  
become speech,  
That today poetry and the profession of a  
poet are a disgrace ,  
See that owing to want of market in this age,  
What tyranny was practised on the possessors  
of speech ,  
That in Persia no one appears,  
Who is a customer of the commodity of mean-  
ing ,  
In Persia the palate of my soul has become  
bitter,  
Now go I ought towards Hindūstān ,  
All the sugar-eating parrots,

'Mir' Āqil poetically, surnamed '*Kausarī*,' was known for his devotion to the Imāms, which won him the favour of Shāh 'Abbās, I' [Rieu, Catalogue of Persian MSS in the B M, Vol II, p. 673]

This emphatically disowns the theory sponsored by later Persian biographers and relied upon by Prof Browne that the Shāh extended patronage exclusively to those who wrote in praise of the Imāms.



patronage to poets.<sup>1</sup> The result of this appreciation was that the fire of poetic genius of the nation, which had for so long burnt low in poets under sullen despondency, sparkled out once more and lit up the horizon of that country. Simultaneously with it, emigration to India considerably diminished.<sup>2</sup> The most notable poet that Persia in this new era produced was Qā'ānī, who is justly regarded both in India and Persia as the last great poet of Persian language.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf —

- (i) Prince Hasan 'Alī Mirzā "*Shujā' us Saltanat*," Governor of Khurāsān—patronised Qā'ānī, Farūghī, and others
- (ii) Ḥājī Mirzā Āqāsī, "*Nāib us Saltanat*" Prime Minister of Muḥammad Shāh—also a patron of poets.
- (iii) Mirzā Taqī Khān, better known as "*Amīr-i Kabīr*" eulogised by Qā'ānī in numerous "*qasā'id*" for his munificent liberalities to poets

<sup>2</sup> Cf other causes

- (i) Gradual replacement of Persian by Urdu, and its official recognition as the court language under the English
- (ii) Patronage shown by the Mughal princes and other nobles to Urdu poets.

The one prominent figure in modern Persian poetry, which begins roughly from the latter half of the 16th century A.D., is the epoch-making Qā'ānī the Shelley of Persia, as we may call him. No other poet is to be found in the whole range of Persian verse so rich in the vividness of imagery, the exquisite mastery over style, and above all, in the glow and verve of idiom and naturalness of simile and metaphor, as he. Qā'ānī's descriptions are some of the most consummate that exist in the Persian

The chief causes which appear more likely to be at the root, were (i) the attention of the Safawi to political, social and above all religious reform (which being of a dramatic and fanatical nature led to a general persecution of the literati in Persia) on the one hand and (ii) the patronage shown by the Mughal in India on the other. The Mughal

Main causes  
which were at  
the root.

language. Every line of his displays that fineness of detail and eye for close observation which characterise his writings. His *dehshat-e-purana* stand out not only in his own composition but in the Persian verse as a whole. His poetry is confined chiefly to Qasida, Khamsa, Qit'a and Maf'uz on topics of love, natural beauty, and praises and satires of kings and dignitaries. A few lines from his Khamsa may be quoted here by way of specimen, which specially appeal to every student of Nature, a parallel of which is hard to find in the East among poets of Persian language but is frequently met with in the West in English poets like Tennyson, Shelley and Wordsworth.

دیده ترگی بیابان باز چو سحاب شد  
طرق سبک دراع باز پر از تلب شد  
آب نرسد چو سهم باز چو سحاب شد  
باد بهار و - زمره فی آب شد  
نیم شب آن پرغیر کرد ز بستن نوار  
باز در آمد بکوه رایت او بهار  
سپید نور و بهشت سنگ از زهر کوهسار  
باز بهر آسند مرغ بهشت از منار  
نغمه و برالمنع مصلح و کتب و هزار  
طوطی و طائری و طایر و سرخاب و سار



into exile. Some went to Turkey and the Central Asian Provinces, but many came to India to which they ever afterwards kept on emigrating

given by a young English poet without hesitation. For example compare one *ghazal* from the *Adwān* of Shāhīdī

The stars and planets (as in their former time)  
The ants, the bees, the restless creepers  
Fresh leaves and flowers deck the dead season's bier  
The autumn leaves now fall in every brake  
And load their mossy beds in field and grove  
And the silver lizard and the golden snake  
Like embers burn'd of fables, out of their trance awake

Qāsim's poetry with its wonderful ease and flow does not appear to belong to the era in which he lived, but exhibits a taste which prevailed in the early and the middle ages. His fidelity to nature combined with the charm of *Radā'ī* and *Zahīr* the patron of *hisāmī* and the vivacity and emotion of *Farrukhī* and *Manūchahī* preponderates in his composition, and in this respect he appears to be a poet more of the 17th and 18th centuries than of the 19th when he actually lived. Even in his figurative indulgence which is a characteristic of the 17th and 18th century poets, his supremacy over his colleagues is marked in so far as he has kept aloof from the vices rampant in their composition. His artistic display of the language and his metaphor and simile have a charm and a reality which do not exist in the work of modern poets, and were long displaced by frivolous attempts at word and meaning and the inordinate figurative touches which had disfigured the fair face of Persian poetry in the later age. In Qāsim, therefore we have a revival of the middle and early poetry and he may be justly said to represent *Farrukhī*, *Manūchahī*, and *Zahīr* in the 19th century.



being attracted by its superior literary support. It is by this process and the force of

Qā'ani's elegies are also famous for their originality of form, and style of address. They are a deviation from the old established path in a more conspicuous form than is exhibited in his panegyric poetry. Some specimen lines from his elegy on Imām Husain are quoted below.

بارد چه بخون که دیده چه از زردی چرا  
از قم کدام غم آلمان کوه  
نامش چه بود - این ز شراد که ار علی  
نامش که بود نامش در دلم که - آفتی  
چون شد مژده شد بجا ده مارینه  
که عاشر مصرم پنهان نه برده  
و آفتاب شد نه دور چه زکام وقت ظلم  
شد از دلو بریده سرش نی از قفا  
سیراب آفتاب شد نه کسی آتش داد داد  
که آه از چه چه آه ز سر چرخه ما  
مجالوم شد آه یکه حرم آه نه  
کمرش چه بُد هدایه و یارش که بُد خدا

What rains? The blood, who rains? The eye; how? Day  
and night, why?  
Out of grief, what grief? The grief for the Sultān of  
Kerbala.

What was his name? Husain, from whose parentage  
was he? From that of 'Alī,  
Who was his mother? Fatima, who was his grand-  
father? The Prophet Muhammad.  
What happened to him? He suffered martyrdom,  
where? In the desert of Marya,  
When? On the 10th of Muharrum, secretly? Nay, publicly

such circumstances further strengthened by the ties of political and social inter relations uniting the

Was he killed at night? Nay in the day what hour?

At the hour of noon,

Was his head cut off from the front? Nay from behind.

Was he killed with his thirst quenched? No did none

give him water? Yes, they did,

Who did? Shīmr from what stream? From the stream  
of death.

Did he fall a martyr to oppression? Aye had he (com-

mitted) any fault? None

What was his mission? Guidance and who was his friend?

GOD

Qā'āni says Browne is by general consent the most notable poet produced by Persia in the 19th century. He is one of the most melodious of all the Persian poets, and his command of the language is wonderful, but he lacks high aims and noble principles."

The latter remark of the learned critic is mainly due to the allegation that Qā'āni was of short temper and his pen did not desist from disparaging those whom he had once praised in his *qasīd*. In support of this contention Browne quotes one instance of Hājī Mirzā Āqāsi, who, during his *upward* Governorship of Khurāsān, was extolled for his piety and justice by Qā'āni. But when the Mirzā fell from power having incurred the displeasure of the emperor Muhammad Shāh, and his Ministerial rank and authority passed on to another noble *Lisān ul Mulk* Mirzā Taqī Khān, better known as *Amir-e Kabir*, Qā'āni, for reasons not yet fully disclosed, discredited the former and praised the latter thus:

خوش است کاشب آه علم خورشید سے یاد جم  
کے گشتہ دولت معصم گوی جو کوہا زما  
ز سہی بندر نامور پہنچے امیر مہاکر  
کز و گفودہ نام و فر ز سہی و ر سہا

two countries that the court of the Mughal eventually became completely Persianised, and in fact every-

بجای ظالم و قبیح و عادی تقی  
که موصیان و قبیح کذب و افتخارها

It is pleasing tonight, O dear, that we drink wine in memory  
of Jamshid,  
Because the empire of Persia has become firm like a chain  
of mountains,  
Through the efforts of our reputed Minister, the greatest  
Amir and the giver of justice  
(From whom) the doors and gates of castles and fortresses  
are kept wide open,  
In place of a cursed tyrant, sat a just and God-fearing person,  
That the pious believers take pride in him

Qā'ānī purged the Persian poetry from that irksome hyperbole and laboured and pedantic style which the later poets, during the last two centuries before him had commonly adopted as their motto. His verses are full of pathos and spontaneous and natural tendencies as opposed to a terse and affected style formed by clever devices subtleties of figures of speech, and rhymed diction. His distinctive feature of writing, and the reforms he introduced in the art of versification, are summed up as follows

- (1) Abstention from fatuous and abortive exaggeration in his flight of thought as could be seen in the following lines reproduced here by way of sample

در دردی که دم زنی از حرم و اعیان  
او کز دادای تند این کز ادرا  
میر از رضای شاه که جوید بکای و دل  
آید بپشم هر دو پهنش - حقرا  
بادش صبر نوا و ند اندیش ذاتوا  
دولت جوان و حکم رواں یارین را

thing language, custom fashion food and dress,  
was adopted after the Persian style and taste

نصرت گریں و طرح معیت تم هملیں  
خلعت نہیں دہشت میں خصم لاہرا

ولہ

ای دست نو بہ ۱۰۰ دراز آبر بھس  
وی بیخ نو رختہ تراز برق مہیا  
گر صاف تہ تو ی کوہ ہیات  
پیکل دند اندر موش غار ز غلرا  
یک سہ مار است مرا روح دہ پیکر  
یک بیخ غلرا است مرا سوی لا اعلا

ولہ

ازاں عراب کہ گر بیند کسی شب تار  
تند نظره بشتاب آب حیل را  
(B) Remarkable felicity of expression and naturalness of his  
simile and metaphor as contained in the following lines

ز خاک رسد لایا جو گدیں پیا لیا  
پیرگی لایا زانیا جو ہو علی سگوا  
ز زلفی سحابیا بر آہیا حبابیا  
جو جی تفر آہیا دولں در آہیا رها  
ہو زلف تابدار اد بچشم افکار  
جو چشمہ کہ اند روہا کند ملوہا  
ہو ختمی ہرزو جو اموات ہرزو  
ہمی ز پشت پیکر کشیدہ صف ثلثا رها  
نراز سوز بوسلن نشست اند قمریوں  
جو قمریوں نظر حوالت دوسریں ملوہا  
ہلہ رسد از زلف طوفان جو ہلہ رها  
دیا گندہ حیرت ز زلف حوالت تروہا  
ز سنگ اگر لہلہ چلں چہ عرارہا  
پیرگاہ لایا نہی مہل لایا زلروہا  
کہ چون عرارہ می چہ ز سنگ کورہا رها

It is a fact, historically true, that the Persian language had not gained so complete a hold on the

- (iii) His pun and figures of speech are more spontaneous, graceful, and dignified in character, than those of his contemporaries who are content merely with the ornate diction and display of words at the sacrifice of good taste. A few instances are quoted below

آهوی کرهش از بس قناده تو یتریم  
 یتریم ساقه پروردگار صبا را  
 از آهوی میس : تان آهوی زریں  
 تا خانه چو میتو کنی از شاهد و یار  
 آهوی بگیر این همه کلهو بتو گیرند  
 آهو چه کنی اے همه شیراں تو میار  
 به نوع انسان آسان بود مباحثش  
 که در به سایر انواع نوع انسان را  
 پھر کوکبه مرا توئی که کوک تو  
 تو کوک همه آواں گرداں را

- (iv) Continuity and fulness in his description, with faithful representation of the subject, which is wonderfully attractive and appealing to heart

ای رفته پئے مید عزالین سوسه  
 بار آسوی مهر پئے مید دل ما  
 گر تیر رنی در دل ما زنت نه در آهو  
 در درم نمی دو ره مانده نه در آهو  
 نه شهر کم از دره و نه ما کم تر از آهو  
 مید دل ما کی اگر ت مید آهو  
 آهوی بیانی نه درد عهد بیابان  
 مانیم که میدیم و میدیم در آهو  
 اے آهوی انسی چه کنی آهوی و آهو  
 دیں طره که میدی چه کنی مید تقاضا  
 مادر تو گریزم و گریزد تو آهو  
 او مید تو عاقل شده ما مید تو در

Mughal court, nor on the people of Hindūstān before

آهـرے بکیرایے ہمے کا ہو ہو گیلند  
 آهـر چہ کئی اوی ہمے خیرات ہو عیدنا  
 ۶ - چوہ آهـر سے بچو آهـر چشی  
 مہ روی و مہ گری و مہ لای و مہ سا  
 وند

ماتہ و سحابت آمد اے ترکی مہی ہر  
 پر خیز و سرا سجد و سحابت لیلور  
 و احباب طرب را بیکر لڑ مجلس بیکر  
 زات بیعی کہ تاکہ نکولی رسد از تر  
 وای - لیسوند کہ پارہند ز مجلس  
 بومی بقیب عید و لیلوری ہیکر  
 بتر آرو بند تاکہ مہرنامہ دو سے سورہ  
 نظرائی ہند خواہم و آسزاش مندر  
 سے عورہن ایہ ماتہ روزاہست کہ ایہ ماتہ  
 نورانی خدا ہارہ و لیلور ہیکر  
 دو روز حرام است بہ اجامہ و لیلور  
 زنداگہ توان عورہ بہ شب بیکر مندر  
 بیعی لڑ دو سے سانو لتوان عورہ کہ تا صبح  
 بیعی روزہ از کم و مہرشی روزہ از سر  
 یا عورہ ہدان گوند بیاید کہ ز سستی  
 تا غام ہگر ہر تئولی غلبہ ز سستی  
 تا خلق نکوند کہ می عورہ نکالی  
 آہے چہ خبر کس را از راز مسر  
 مہ مہم ایہ است و لی وجہ مہم لہست  
 دین کٹر لہاید بچو از مہہ توانگر  
 تا چو مہ و مہل و سحابت و سحابت  
 وای روزہ عہد لیلوری و آن فکر مندر

(۷) His productive, rich, and luxuriant style with his wonderful command of the language is more than what could be achieved by any Persian poet during the last two centuries



# Safawi persecution as it did afterwards

- (viii) The sweetness and melody inherent in his *gas da* is most remarkable and presents a new phase in the art of *gasida*-writing which *shakhs* belonged to *gha. al*
- (ix) He widened the scope of Persian poetry by allowing *shakhs* and admitting obsolete words and new sets of compounds and constructions in his composition, a step which befitted him as an *shakhs* or a recognised leader of poets
- (x) He is a great force in the field of 19th century Persian literature. His style characterised by freshness of expression, rejuvenation of thought, and naturalness of simile is unique in the life and literature of Qajar Persia. Nay the service rendered by him to Persian poetry as a whole is most remarkable and stands by itself.
- (xi) He revived the poetry of the early and the middle age and combined in his *gas da* the merits of Rūdaki, Farrukhi, Manuchahri, Anvari, and Zahir adding to them a charm all his own. He thus raised the standard and dignity of Persian poetry which had fallen so low in Persia since after the coming away of Abu T-lib Kalim to India and is regarded as the *last great poet of Persian language* a position justified by his prolific and many-sided genius.
- (xii) In prose his work "کتب پرده‌ای" written after the manner and style of Badi' al-Zaman is a reflection and a blot on his good name and does him no credit as a prose writer. It is full of *shakhs* anecdotes, and reveals his easy life and freedom of thought which he loved so well.



## CHAPTER IX

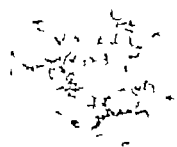
He was by nature tender-hearted and was inclined more and more, as he advanced in years, towards Sūfism and renunciation. His devout, desire for the company of the spiritual world, and his aversion to this material world, too clearly had manifested themselves by frequent visits on several occasions. His frequent association to the tombs of saints, and his auguries with the Sūfis of the time, and taking matters of from the *Diwan* of Hāfiz on important state, domestic, and personal, was for the most part under the influence of the Indian atmosphere. During his stay in Hindūstān, which was already a most noted country in the East for spiritual progress and the religious activities of its people, he had found mysticism, since its very advent in India, had found a warm reception by the religious-minded populace, and this joint working of Muslim thought with the Hindū zeal for devotional practices, aimed at the purification of the soul, had created a spiritual atmosphere, the effects of which no foreigner, however stiff-hearted and indifferent he might be, could escape. Jauhar, Gulbadan Begum, and other contemporary and later historians, have quoted instances of his pessimistic views. The one record by Abul Fazl is reproduced as follows.



از مقلد کار دل افکار شدم  
 دیوانه چون دیوان و حلاصم گردان

And often times passed on the holy tongue of the late king (whose abode is in Paradise), the talk of travel to the next world, and against his old pleasing habit, this talk which is opposed to the orderly government of this world, and which he did not like to be mentioned in his sublime assembly before, he was pleased with its mention in these days. Verily, since on the heart of the secret-knowing king, the effects of such thoughts had already cast their shadows, therefrom the king did one day praise and vouchsafe for the truthful utterance of the late conqueror, *Firdaus-Makānī* (Bābur), saying, that *Firdaus-Makānī* once in his assembly mentioned that a certain servant of his said one day, "Whenever the sleeping Yard of the Cemetery of Ghaznī comes into my sight, I am inclined to die." And after this, the king added, "When I see Delhī and its tombs I recollect the speech of the late king—how nice and true he said!" And near about the time when he was to turn his face towards the eternal kingdom, he addressed to some of his attendants, "Today, after the morning prayers, something happened, and the angel of inspiration put this quatrain on my tongue —

O God, with Thy plentiful grace select me  
 for Thy nearness,  
 Make me acquainted with the secrets of  
 Thy chosen people,



Through my oppressive wisdom my heart  
was rent  
 Call me Thy mad lover and free me from  
all cares.

The extent to which he had allowed himself to be led by Sufi ideas is determined by his deeds of wilful surrender to Sufistic dicta and in endeavouring to tread in the path of attaining spiritual solace and viewing this world and its affairs with the detachment of a recluse. Like an ascetic he occasionally gave up meat-eating and lived entirely on vegetable. In the hope of attaining that purity of soul and its secret link with the spirits of the saints which according to a class of thinkers is the exclusive prerogative of the devout abstainers alone. Abul Fazl writes thus of Humāyūn a vowed abstinence from all animal food until his second conquest of Hindūstān merely with the object of appeasing the saints and invoking their blessings for the success of his arms.

His E. text  
 renders  
 something like  
 of an ardent  
 recluse

و حضرت جهانمائی کہ از ابتدای اسی سفر مزار  
 نہ دہلی و فتح ہندوستان قبل تناول حیوانی فرمودہ  
 بتوحید روحانی ۱۶۲۷ھ می نمودند امروز کمال  
 انساں بکمال آردہ -

And his Majesty the Warden of the world  
 who from the beginning of this auspicious

journey until his reaching Delhi and the conquest of Hindūstān, having abstained from all animal food, sought victory through spiritual attentions, evinced the greatest pleasure today.

Along with his abstinence from the animal food, he also used to take auguries from the *Dīwān* of Hāfiz,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The practice of consulting omens from the *dīwān* of Hāfiz was prevalent in Persia also. The belief of the Persians in *tafawul* was so great that they gave the names of *Lisān'-ul-Ghaib* (Invisible tongue), and *Tarjumān-ul-Asrār* (Interpreter of mysteries), to Hāfiz's *dīwān*. Like the Mughal emperors in India, the Persian royal house also, in spite of their disbelief in the Sunni *tarīqat* and in Sūfis, used to take auguries from the *dīwān* on important private and official matters. The *Latīfa-i-Ghaibīyya* (a book written by a Persian noble and poet of the town of Dīrāb, printed at Tihiran in 1304 A H) mentions several instances of such auguries drawn from *Hafiz* by the Persian kings. Cf —

- (i) Shāh Ismā'īl I, the promulgator of the Shī'a faith in Persia, who even went to the length of destroying the tombs of Sūfis, decided to consult Hāfiz's *dīwān* about the destruction of the latter's tomb. The result of this augury was the following verse.

جواز سر نهاد ایام درازم  
پهانی غلام شاهم و سوگند میخورم

- (ii) Shāh Tahmāsp one day lost his ring, and consulted Hāfiz which opened at the following verse,

دلے کہ غریب نامہ و درام جم دارد  
ز خانه که دایم کم شود چه نم دارد

believing in their efficacy just as the ancient Romans used to consult Vergil when they were in doubt as to the proper course of action to be pursued by them. While yet in Cabul after his return from Persia he consulted the *divān* about his success in his impending attack on Hindūstān to regain his lost kingdom from Shēr Shāh. A detailed account of this augury and his personal faith in its efficacy is given in the following extract.

اعلان حضرت والا بصوب صواب ممالك هندوستان  
 انوار فرمودند و آن نور پروردگار بر منی حضرت

- (III) Similarly Shāh Abbas II. like Humayūn, once took an augury from Hāfiz's *divān* regarding the conquest of Azarbāijān, of which the capital is Tabriz. The following *Lug* verse was the remarkable response.

مراق و ترقی گزینی بقدر امر حاکم  
 بیا که ترقی بقاء و دقت ترقی است

- <sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 409

NOTE.—The difference in the Persian and the Indian method of taking auguries may be noted.—In India the popular method is to open the *divān*, after reciting *ṣūrah* with or without *durūd*, and invoking its blessing on the departed soul of Hāfiz. The first verse of the open page on the right being orally taken as Hāfiz's response to the query. If the answer is not clear the 7th line of the same page is the next best to be counted upon. But if neither gives satisfaction six further pages are turned, and the first verse of the 7th page is accepted as final.

شاهنشاهی را که که ممر زمینی آنست در آن هنگام  
 سعادت بیداری درآورده سال و ماه و روز و قمر و قمر  
 کامل آن در برگ کویین از احاطه احسان افروز مقدمه  
 پیش متوجعات موری و معدوی سال تمام بانی اقبال  
 را بکولان در آوردند و در روز دوحه عالی بدیوان لایق  
 الفیه درک و به اول مستند چون امر به طایم از هر دو  
 عید و شادمانی حفا و لوه ظهور می نماید منادیان  
 شادمانی از آنس و آفاق بهر از زبان بلند آوازه  
 می کردند ارادته این شاه دید که در شادمانی  
 سعادت اولی که در صورت پادشاهی دولت تواند شد  
 مددانی مدد در تمام دولت

در حال

دولت از مرغ هایون طلا و ایله او  
 را که ماراغ و رغن بهر شهر دولت

اگرچه هر دو مددان عالم معامله دانی این کلام  
 حقیقتی که در میان را در دولت و در صورت چهار پادشاهی  
 دشارتی برادر است و مال دهوده بهر است آرای محفل سعادت

In Persia the method of opening the *dīwān* at random is more common, and the condition of reciting *fātiha* is not considered necessary, though *durūd* is generally read simultaneously with opening the book. Some take the first line on which the eye falls, be it on the right or on the left page, while others consider the first verse of the ode, which begins on the right page, as the proper answer.

شدند اما دوربینان بارگه دانس قصوی این نظم  
 بدیع را نوید خلافت امیر و مرده - الملت به  
 حضرت سید اهی دریافته برادر انتظار طمران علو  
 این طایرف سی اقامت فرمودند و - رت جهانبانی  
 اسام به عرق الوفاای عنایت الهی و - ال به  
 حیدر المتین سار آسمانی نموده با اندکی از مردم  
 که به هزار کسکد بمقامدت بسیاری از جنود غمی  
 که سوار مکهاسان عفرل نگذاشتند - فرمودند -

In the above-quoted extract one could see the wonderful effect exercised by the miraculous verse of Hāfiz. Not only it filled the heart of Humāyūn and his generals with hope but that the confidence it infused was so great that he marched without even adequate preparation with a number less than 3000 foot and cavalry all told <sup>1</sup> on such a big mission as the re-conquest of Hindūstān

<sup>1</sup> This original figure was substantially increased later and many more joined him on his way to Hindūstān. The warring factions in India jealous of one another's power were a great incentive to Humāyūn, who entered the country unsupported and marched as far as Lahore without facing any great opposition. Other natural factors were the death of Salīm the powerful Pathān King and the invitation sent to Humāyūn by the disaffected Ummara of Delhi and Agra to come to Hindūstān and occupy his father's throne. Almost all the tribes of the Pathāns were engaged in the civil war. It was therefore the most opportune moment for Humāyūn to return.



One day, when he was out for hunting in Cābul, he expressed to his nobles the anxiety of his mind to regain his lost throne, and consulted them as to the advisability of leading an attack on India with the meagre men and material he could collect. Those who had lived in India in the heyday of his fortune, and enjoyed the comfort and wealth of the country, offered to consult the old method of divination, *viz.*, to send a courier ahead, who should go and return after taking down the names of the first three persons he meets. The king readily consented to this and sent three horsemen, instead of one, all in the direction of Hindūstān but separate from one another, who were to return immediately after meeting the first person each, and report to him their names individually. The first brought the news that he met a trader named *فرت* *fortune*. The other said that he met a traveller by name, *مراه* *object of the heart*. The third reported that he came across a peasant whose name was *معاذ* *auspiciousness*. The conclusion drawn was that the king should immediately start upon his campaign, unmindful of the number of his army, as success was sure to attend on him. He therefore put himself to this task at once and invited recruits who readily responded to his call under the said belief. Thus in the month of Safar in 962 A.H., he marched from Cābul, and was joined by many veteran soldiers on his way to Hindūstān.

His keen sense of giving justice to the poor against the high-handedness of the officials had led

to the invention of *tabl-i adl* (or drum of justice) which he had ordered to be placed in the outside corridor of the royal palace. Any one from the highest to the humblest in life could approach him with out fear of molestation and use that drum to draw the attention of the king in person towards the tyranny shown to him by any official enemy robber or noble of the court. This mode of giving justice was appreciated and copied by his successors in India, the most notable among whom was his grand son Jahāngīr. He had a gold chain measuring 30 *zira*<sup>1</sup> in length with 60 bells one end of which was tied to the parapet of the royal dome of his fort at Āgra and the other to a mile-stone fixed on the bank of the Jamuna. Humāyūn's *drum of Justice* is

Invention of *tabl-i adl* a mode of giving justice which was later adopted by his grand son, Jahāngīr, in the form of *saxīr-i adl*

<sup>1</sup> A Persian yard.

CL Jahāngīr's own statement

بعد از جلوس اولین حکمی که از من صادر گشت چنین زنجیر  
مدل بود که اگر - در آن مهلت دلائل عدالت در راه خواهی و فور  
رسی سم رسیدگی و منظور می آمدی و مداحانه و زرد آن منظوم  
خود را بدین زنجیر رشته شده جنبه کردند تا صدای آن باعث  
آگاهی گردد - رنج آن برده هیچ است - از مقلی تلب فرمودم  
زنجیری سازند عوامی سی فراع - هر قصه رنگ - و زرد آن  
چهارم - ... یک سرش برکتی شده برج کند آگره اسوار  
ساعتی بر دیگر تکتاراً فرود برده بر مکتب که نصب شده بود  
مکتب - ۱۳۰ -

[Tuzuk-i Jahāngīr]

described with its details of procedure by Abul Fazl as follows —

۱ و از مکتوبات آمد که هر کس طبل عدل بود که اگر داد و ستدی را با کسی معامله می شد یک نوبت در طبل میزد و اگر دلال او از مردم و رسول عاقله بود دو نوبت آن کار میکرد و اگر مامور حاکمات او را ماله میبرد کرده بود یا در دزدی سه نوبت طبل را میزد و اگر با کسی دزدی بودی چون داشته چهار نوبت صدای طبل را بلند گردانید .

And from amongst the inventions of his Majesty was the *drum of Justice* to the effect that if any seeker of redress had enmity with any one, he would strike the *drum* with the stick once, and if he was oppressed for not supplying fodder, he would do this act twice, and if his articles of subsistence were seized by some tyrant, or carried off by some thief, he would make the *drum* sound thrice, and if against some one he had a claim for shedding blood (murder of his kinsmen), he would cause the *drum* to sound loud four times

His generosity and benevolence were great, and his clemency for his brothers, who proved a constant source of trouble and a menace to the peaceful government of his empire, was extraordinary, and carried beyond

His general  
character

the limits of prudence and justice which he owed to the State. He was a lover of learning and a patron of poets and prose-writers of his day. He inherited from his father the poetic genius which is displayed in his *masnawī*, *rubāī* and other metrical compositions. He was unostentatiously religious and his faith in providence was remarkable. In his days of fortune as well as in distress he did not lose the balance of mind and remained happy in his submission to the will of God. In exile when he was persuaded to embrace the Shi'a faith in return for the promised Persian help to reinstate him on his lost throne of Hindūstān he had uttered the following

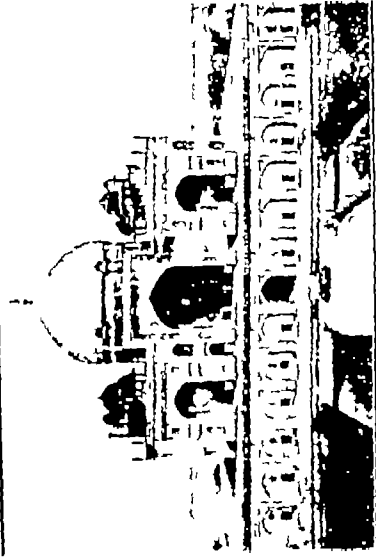
ما ہدیں خود قائم مقام ہم 'اں م' و ما را  
 خنداں آرزوے پادشاهی ہم 'و هر چه = باران  
 خداے عزوجل است 'دل خود را به او د : ام -

We are firm in our religion. We came and we do not even entertain much desire for kingship. And whatever there is, it is with the will of God the Great and the High. We have bound our heart to Him.

In battle he was valiant, and in peace his forgiving nature never yielded to any strict measures which the times demanded not so much through weakness of mind as through gentleness and nobility of spirit.

During his flight through the sandy desert of Sindh, when his men were almost dying with thirst and every one ran mad for water, news arrived of Shēr Shāh's troops' near approach. Humāyūn, at this juncture, ordered all his men, who were in a fit condition, to halt and engage the enemy in battle ; while the rest whose condition was sore were directed to move forward to a safe distance with women and children 115 in number. He kept the command of the fighting force directly in his own hands, and rode in front like a warrior giving heart to his tired, unwilling, and ill-equipped men. The enemy, however, did not appear on the scene, and Humāyūn rode back to the female section to communicate the good news of the enemy's non-appearance.

Even in his fall he was great, and showed the same elevation of character as he did when he wore a crown.



TOMS OF HEMLYRES OLD DRILL



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